Daily Report

East Europe

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FBIS-EEU-94-190 *30 September 1994*

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NOTICE TO READERS: Effective 1 October, the processing indicators appearing in brackets at the start of each item in this publication will be changed. All new indicators will begin with "FBIS" to make the material more easily identifiable in databases. Some will also indicate whether the item has been translated from the vernacular or transcribed from English.

All material in this volume previously disseminated in electronic form.

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New Choice Meets With Party Parliamentary Groups

AU2909192794 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 29 Sep 94

[Report by Mariya Tsankova]

[Text] Today's talks between representatives of the New Choice and Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] parliamentary groups did not proceed in a spirit of complete understanding—this is how Stefan Savov [SDS group leader] described the meeting. Dimitur Ludzhev, the candidate for prime minister, Ruslan Semerdzhiev, and Ivan Pushkarov spent more than an hour explaining the New Choice's proposed cabinet program, but as Stefan Savov put it, the SDS deputies were not persuaded to support a new government. He said New Choice did not give the names of the members of its prospective cabinet.

We continue to support the national consensus formula, and if conditions are created in this parliament for a political agreement between all the parliamentary groups on the basis of national consensus, we are ready to talk about this, the Socialists stated at their consultations with the New Choice parliamentary group. In Nora Ananieva's words, it cannot be excluded that the name of the person proposed as candidate prime minister may be changed before Tuesday, 4 October, when the candidate has to be handed a decree to form a government.

According to Aleksandur Tomov, cochairman of the DAR [Democratic Alliance for the Republic] parliamentary group, who is soon to hold talks with the New Choice group, if the proposed formula for the government is changed and if a person who is not a member of parliament is proposed as prime minister, the chances of obtaining agreement on the formation of a cabinet will be immensely improved.

The DPS [Rights and Freedoms Movement] is holding consultations with New Choice at this moment.

BSP Official Views Elections, Possible Partners

AU3009103894 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 27 Sep 94 p 2

[Interview with Georgi Purvanov, "deputy chairman of BSP Supreme Council," by Purvoleta Tsvetkova in Montana; date not given: "BSP Prepares Candidate Lists Without Parachutists and Parasites"]

[Text] [Tsvetkova] The Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] openly speaks of new elections, but is it really ready for such elections in 1994?

[Purvanov] Not fully, but we are still ahead of our opponents in anything related to the preparations. In the months since our congress we have been working on new elections. We denied ourselves our summer vacations in order to prepare the draft of the new election bill, the criteria for forming the candidate lists, and the organization of our election headquarters.

[Tsvetkova] This interview is taking place in Montana, where Aleksandur Tomov and Iliyan Iliev were elected on the BSP ticket. Now both are members of another parliamentary faction. The same applies to the three deputies elected on the ticket of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), who have also long been members of other groups and factions. What should the voters think about this?

[Purvanov] Montana is the greatest paradox in the evolution of the deputies' ideas. The issue of correctly composing the candidate lists is a crucial one for every party. We shall prepare our lists on the basis of a dozen criteria: First of all, we will strive to reproduce at least a part of the current parliamentary faction—those are people with proven parliamentary qualities. We did not invent this tendency. It exists in all modern parliaments. Some of the deputies of the Grand National Assembly will also be included in the lists. However, the most important thing is to renew the faction by including in it people from various professional fields—the best businessmen, jurists, economists, historians, and so forth. Naturally, this will be done on the basis of the candidates' personal qualities. Any interference from above will be excluded so that there will be no dropping of parachutists from on high onto our lists.

[Tsvetkova] Is loyalty to the voters until the end of the mandate anachronistic?

[Purvanov] According to certain gentlemen—yes. However, they are saying this in order to salve their consciences. I respect the evolution of their ideas, but let them start from the bottom and work their way up, trying to defend their views, rather than doing this at the expense of the ticket on which they were elected in the first place. At the moment they are nothing more than parasites. The ethical thing to do is for them to leave parliament, construct their own structures on the basis of their new ideas, and try to enter parliament on the basis of those ideas.

[Tsvetkova] Recently the future coalition policy of the BSP has been attracting attention. Is it clear with whom you will ally yourselves?

[Purvanov] This issue is yet to be clarified. However, our idea is to effect an alliance of a broad range of political forces, and not only of leftist forces. Issues such as the economic reform, privatization, the growing crime rate, and national security cannot be resolved only by the leftist forces. We will convey our proposals to the center right and the patriotic and nationally responsible forces. In this context we are thinking of "New Bulgaria," the Constitutional Forum, the Bulgarian Liberals Party, and the "Zora" Political Circle as our future partners.

[Tsvetkova] How do you view the development of the current situation?

[Purvanov] A new cabinet could be formed. However, even if it generates a sufficient number of votes at the

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National Assembly, it will already be hanging in the air on the following day. According to our polls more than 80 percent of the people in Bulgaria do not support the formation of a new cabinet in this parliament. Those who will form such a cabinet will become political corpses within a month.

National Security Council Discusses Army Finances

AU2909184894 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 29 Sep 94

[Text] The Consultative Council on National Security met today to discuss the problem of financing the Bulgarian Army. Defense Minister Valentin Aleksandrov and General Totomirov, chief of the Bulgarian Army General Staff, submitted a report, accompanied by specific information and proposals from the Defense Ministry and the General Staff, that covered not only what the Army's requirements covering the period until the end of the year, but also the resources it needed in coming years. The competent authorities in the executive were also briefed on the actions that were to be taken on the issues discussed.

Outgoing Deputy Prime Minister Kiril Tsochev briefed the participants in the meeting on the progress of the negotiations between Bulgaria and Russia to settle their mutual financial obligations and on the intergovernmental commission set up to deal with defense industry matters.

Zhelev Praises Albania's 'Constructive Stand'

AU2909213094 Tirana ATSh Domestic News Bulletin in Albanian 27 Sep 94

[Text] President Sali Berisha today received Mr. Velichkov, foreign policy adviser of Bulgarian President Zhelev, who brought his president's message in response to President Berisha's letter.

In this message, the Bulgarian president praises the relations between Albania and Bulgaria highly, viewing them as a concrete implementation of the friendship and cooperation treaty between our two countries.

He also airs his deep concern about the recent developments in Greek-Albanian relations, expressing at the same time his support for Albania's constructive stand. In his message, Mr. Zhelev appreciates the efforts made by the European Union, the United States, Italy, and Russia to ease the crisis and alleviate the tension between Albania and Greece, underscoring Bulgaria's determination to make its contribution in this respect.

For his part, President Berisha asked Mr. Velichkov to convey his cordial greetings to President Zhelev, who, as his personal friend and friend of Albania, is concerned about Albanian-Greek relations. He also thanked the Bulgarian president for his great interest in the further development of friendship and cooperation between Albanian and Bulgaria—relations that have a bright future.

President Berisha said: "I welcome the interest that President Zhelev takes in easing the tension and resolving the crisis between Albania and Greece. On the other hand, I would like to assure him once again that Albania is deeply interested in peace, stability and good-neighborliness. In this context, I have always thought and still think that dialogue is the best way of resolving the crisis. Albania's Foreign Minister is leaving today for New York, and the Albanian side is of the opinion that a bilateral meeting, or a meeting in the presence of a third party, between him and Minister Papoulias at the UN Headquarters would be useful."

Referring to President Zhelev's concern that he expressed in his message about the risks that nationalism is posing in our region, President Berisha emphasized that: "Nationalism constitutes the real threat to peace, stability, and democracy in the Balkans, and what is extremely worrying is the fact that the developments over the past few years indicate that the attitudes toward nationalism, instead of curbing it, have given it free rein."

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Prime Minister Discusses Stability of Cabinet

AU2909164994 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 23 Sep 94 pp 1, 3

["Regular interview" with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Eva Martinkova; place and date not given: "The Present Government Cabinet Is More Stable Than That of the First Republic"]

[Text] *Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus in today's regular column answers topical questions asked by correspondent Eva Martinkova.*

[Martinkova] Approximately half of the government's time in office has passed, and four ministers have already been replaced. Do you consider your government stabilized?

[Klaus] I have the instinctive feeling that the government is stabilized and that the degree of its stabilization is actually higher than the usual standard. I have recently been reading about all of the shifts in the Czechoslovak Government at the time of the First Republic and must say that our present Cabinet is much more stable than a typical cabinet in 1920-38. If someone wants to compare it with the world, I would point out that John Major, for instance, replaced five ministers in the British Cabinet at once, and so forth. So, in this respect, I do not see any danger.

[Martinkova] The growth in the GDP confirms the expected recovery of the economy, but one of its indicators is not developing very favorably—namely, the foreign trade balance. Can the decline in exports still be attributed to relations with Slovakia?

[Klaus] First, I must specify the question and emphasize that a decline in exports has not taken place. Export growth has declined, and that is infinitely different. Exports were certainly greater in the first half of this year than in the same period of 1993. The problem is that imports are growing faster than exports, not that exports are declining.

There are many economies in the world with a long-term trade deficit simply because they have other sources of revenue to make up the difference. Tourist revenues, for instance, are not a part of the trade balance but, rather, of a broader balance of payments, and Austria is undoubtedly one country that can have a long-term trade balance because of its enormous inflow of money from tourism. Hence, in itself, as a phenomenon taken out of context, a trade deficit is nothing dangerous or exceptional. It is another issue entirely that we certainly need our exports to grow. Our economy is definitely an open one, and we need the demand in the world for our goods to grow. So, I certainly cannot say that I am happy about imports growing faster than exports. Nevertheless, the short-term effect—that is, on a monthly basis—really indicates nothing negative or dangerous

[Martinkova] Why is the government so slow in separating social funds from the state budget, even though this is part of its declared policy?

[Klaus] I am afraid that I cannot deal with this question exhaustively in a brief interview, and I intend to dedicate my regular contribution to your paper to this issue. Hence, just briefly:

The separation or nonseparation of the funds from the state budget in all areas of human activity is an issue that has a number of pros and cons, be it the retirement, road, railroad, or environment funds. Although a person's old-age pension is to a large extent an individual matter, it is also a public issue. It is a matter of the degree to which society cares for its citizens in their postproductive age, and it is simply public property. Those who say Klaus is only a myopically thinking economist are simply very wrong. I consider the state's responsibility on this issue to be a very serious matter. The state will always be the last retreat, when the separated or nonseparated fund is, for whatever reasons, short of money. It is, and will be, the responsibility of the state. It is futile to absolutize the problem, to beat one's breast like the fundamentalists, and to give examples of countries where the fund is detached because I have here a list that is just as long and perhaps even longer of countries where the separation does not exist, so the fundamentalist argument does not apply. Our perception softens this problem, so it is not a matter of a cut—whether to separate the funds from the budget. It rather divides up the pension system, wanting to leave one part as a budget component, the other as an element completely independent of fund decisionmaking. This division is a little different from what we are being urged to do.

Zieleniec Views EU Admission, German Relations

AU2909121494 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 7 Sep 94 p 7

[Interview with Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec by Ulrich Glauber in Prague; date not given: "We Are Beginning To Divide Europe Once Again"]

[Text] [Glauber] The Czech Republic is considred a model country among the reformist states of Central Europe. Membership in the European Union [EU] is one of the main goals of your foreign policy. When do you expect to join the EU?

[Zieleniec] I do not like to talk about time frames. In our country, the mechanism of the integration process is often misunderstood, as is the case in some other countries that belong to the former Soviet Europe, especially in terms of interaction with the EU countries. A prerequisite is change in our own country, change that will lead to being a developed state of the West European kind. Reducing problems to negotiations with the EU and calls for an entry date would send the wrong signal to our own people. At present, in terms of macroeconomic data, the stability of the currency, the stability of the budget, and the character of foreign trade, we would occupy last place among the EU states. That is only part of our problem. However, our economy could survive this kind of

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opening up of borders without the fatal consequences we have seen in the case of the new German laender.

[Glauber] Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Havel and you yourself are considered to be committed Euro skeptics with regard to the European Commission in Brussels and EU interventionism. How do you wish the EU to develop further?

[Zieleniec] We declared that the Czech Republic should be a member of the EU immediately after the communist regime was brought down in November 1989. At the time, the declaration was, to a certain extent, an idealistic one. A serious discussion is now starting on the mechanisms of EU membership and the future of the EU—with us as a member. The discussion is exceptionally important, but it in no way calls into question our key position—namely, that the we want to belong to the EU.

[Glauber] You really speak as the Czech foreign minister. In a newspaper article, Prime Minister Klaus recently criticized the EU's generous distribution mechanisms, which have undermined morale and personal responsibility.

[Zieleniec] I could provide you with further quotations, quote you things that I myself have said. Paradoxically, that is further proof of how seriously we view our European path. A house is being built in which we, too, should be occupants. It is not only our right, but also our duty to say something, too. All some countries have to say about the subject is that they wish to be members of the EU. Perhaps that is a reflection of the fact that they are less convinced that they will be members one day. We consider the form the EU will take to be a basic issue. We have 45 years of experience of communism. I do not want to draw any cheap parallels. However, a very important part of the communist system is that the bureaucracy functioned without parliamentary control. We are familiar with those mechanisms. That is why we are very sensitive about such matters. The EU is composed of nations that contributed their own experiences and ideas to the European vision. We can also enrich the discussion with our partial experiences, and we are doing that.

[Glauber] A new vision of Germany has emerged in Europe. The CDU/CSU [Christian Democratic Union/ Christian Social Union] favors a two-speed Europe. Prime Minister Klaus has warned against maintaining the division of Europe. At the same time, he writes that the discussion that has been inspired by the CDU is something "exceptionally positive" for Europe. Is there not something contradictory about that?

[Zieleniec] You have not read properly what he wrote. Prime Minister Klaus certainly does not consider it advantageous for us to have a two-speed Europe. What he did not say in the article is that we feel we belong to the core, even if it were to be more advantageous to board a train that is traveling more slowly. However, if I may say something about that, I think it would greatly disrupt the idea of a united Europe. The idea arose following World War II to lead Europe out of eternal traps, out of the conflicts and wars that constantly erupted. The idea was that there would not be wars in a Europe that is closely interlinked. In a world that is becoming increasingly complicated, we should have links to each other that are closer and closer. Reducing the European idea to whether we should introduce a common currency or what views we have on the form that a European Bank should take and, to take things to the point of absurdity, what size soapboxes we should have essentially diverts attention, in my view, from what was originally of interest. We are once again beginning to divide Europe in line with technical principles and are forgetting the political idea that was to enable us to lead Europe out of a historical trap, and you know best of all how difficult it was for Germany to emerge from this trap.

[Glauber] So, you are skeptical about a "two-speed Europe"?

[Zieleniec] I am not skeptical. I think it is possible, but I do not think it is right. Not even our economic interests are the key element. Our economic potential is so great that we could shortly become a member of the European core. However, that would also entail dividing Europe. I think that stands in contrast to what we have dreamed about Europe, to what we believed.

[Glauber] However, within the Visegrad Four—Poland, Slovakia, the Czech Republic, and Hungary—you have clearly insisted on your country pursuing an independent path.

[Zieleniec] We are afraid of the division of Europe, of preserving the division that was created by Stalin. The reproduction of structures that have long been eliminated, such as the division of Europe into a "free" and a "postcommunist" part, into a part that issues advice and one that receives advice, into one that organizes and one that is organized is and remains a division! That division has existed since 1945, and we are on the edge of that division, just as Germany is. Indeed, the division went through the middle of Germany. You know what kind of trauma that was. We are against institutionalizing cooperation within the framework of the Visegrad Four because we do not want a new gulf to emerge. In addition, we do not want to set up an exclusive club for some and turn our backs on the rest. We are in the process of creating a free trade zone (ed. note—with Poland, Slovakia, and Hungary), we have signed an agreement with Slovenia on the creation of a similar zone, and we are working together with Austria. However, creating a division according to the principle that we have spent time in the same prison...? Would that not mean that we are sitting outside the gates unable to survive when the prison no longer exists?

[Glauber] Concerning the relationship between Germany and the Czech Republic, economic relations are

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good, but questions about the past are a burden. Groups on both sides are seeking to exploit unresolved problems for their own ends. Is it not finally the right time to conduct a dialogue on compensation for the Czech victims of national socialism, as well on as the expulsion of the Sudeten Germans, the basis of which was furnished by the Benes decrees?

[Zieleniec] I meet Minister Kinkel quite often. The German Government has not raised any of these issues.

[Glauber] But that differs from the official position of the German Government and Mr. Kinkel....

[Zieleniec] We should formulate these questions more precisely. The question of compensation (ed. note—for the Czech victims of the Nazis) has not been answered with a yes or a no. However, the people will die soon. We must provide them with some kind of assistance out of the state's coffers. Neither the expulsion of the Sudeten Germans nor the Benes decrees were ever the subject of negotiations with Mr. Kinkel. That is an optical illusion. This issue is being raised by newspapers and different organizations. One can only negotiate about what both sides want to negotiate about.

[Glauber] So, you see no need to conduct any further dialogue about the Benes decrees or the expulsion question?

[Zieleniec] Representatives of regional associations want to negotiate about the expulsion of the Germans. However, every Czech and German citizen is in favor of someone from the government representing them in official negotiations. The German Government has not raised the issues you have mentioned. In international relations—and, as foreign minister, I see this daily—the art is not that of conducting negotiations abroad, but of setting out one's position at home and then forcing through what one considers to lie in the vital interest of one's own state without giving in to the pressure being exercised by various groups. We in Prague are ready.

[Glauber] Following the silence in Bonn, you are about to compensate the Czech victims out of your own pocket. Do you not expect to get something back from Bonn?

[Zieleniec] That is something you must ask in Bonn.

More on Czech-German Relations

LD2909141694 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1100 GMT 29 Sep 94

[Excerpts] German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel is coming to the Czech Republic tomorrow for a brief visit. Editor Katerina Sladkova therefore asked Czech Foreign Minister Jozef Zieleniec what he intended to talk about with his German colleague.

[Begin Zieleniec recording] It is not an official visit. Mr. Kinkel will arrive on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the event at the German Embassy in Prague, when many Germans from the former German Democratic Republic gathered there asking to go to the Federal Republic of Germany. [passage omitted]

It is natural that it is important to talk a lot about the atmosphere of Czech-German relations, about the positive projects we have in common, because Czech-German relations are developing by jointly opening some prospects of cooperation. Otherwise, we would suffocate in past memories, which are still being strengthened by various groups in both countries. [end recording]

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President Calls For 'Broad Coalition Government'

LD2909120694 Berlin DDP/ADN in German 0415 GMT 29 Sep 94

[Text] Prague (DPA)—Slovak President Michal Kovac has expressed support for a "broad coalition government" on the eve of the parliamentary election in Bratislava. Kovac told the DDP/ADN news agency that experience since the fall of former Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar has shown that "political stability can only be guaranteed if party leaders place the common interest above their own ambition." He said the Cabinet that has governed since March, comprising left and right-wing political parties and groupings, has given the public "a real alternative" to a government "that consists only of the supporters of a single party."

The president, who, according to the Constitution, appoints cabinet members also backs the inclusion in the government of representatives of the Hungarian minority. Kovac said that the "highly democratic system of rights in Slovakia" offers unlimited scope for "Hungarian fellow citizens to participate not just in local politics but also centrally." He said he considers the much-touted "Hungarian problem" in southern Slovakia to have been "artificially talked into existence by a few politicians." Every citizen has the same rights and obligations, whether Slovak, Czech, Hungarian, Ukrainian, or German. Kovac said that allowing people to contribute on an equal footing to all of the tasks facing the state and society represents "one way of ensuring that no unnecessary tensions arise in the political sphere or on the issue of minorities."

The president said that, apart from integration into the political, economic, and security structures of West Europe, the priority in foreign policy iss the expansion of good-neighborly and friendly relations with Budapest.

Kovac, who has come under increasing fire from former Prime Minister Meciar's party over the past few weeks, describes the "attacks on the president as an expression of a lack of political culture." Constitutional institutions are "not the property of any one politician or party." It is thus "absurd that, when someone leads a party, wins an election, and forms a government, he could then demand that everything must be in accordance with his wishes." Being thwarted in this aim led the former prime minister to the conclusion that "the system has to be changed in such a way that realizing the aims of just one person is elevated to a principle"—a special presidential system. Such manifestations are not exactly conducive to Slovakia's standing abroad but are evidently a "transitional phase of the learning process on the way to political pluralism," the president said.

Liberals Confirm Withdrawal From Election

AU2909153094 Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK in Slovak 28 Sep 94 p 2

[Article by "(km)": "An Expected Withdrawal of Their Slate"]

[Text] The leitmotif of the press briefing given yesterday by the Liberals was the preannounced withdrawal of their slate (one candidate) in favor of the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH], which the Liberals have supported since the start of the election campaign. Their aim was to add at least 1 percent to the votes cast for the KDH. According to I. Grycz, the preelection analyses indicate that they have managed to obtain 1.4 percent for the KDH. In this connection, P. Weiss, the Liberals' executive secretary, denied any financial assistance from the KDH or the state coffers. "We also made our campaign clips on Slovak Television with help from sponsors," emphasized P. Weiss. The Liberals would also like, as a small party, to support the established right-wing parties in the future. "The liberal base in Slovakia is still too limited. At the moment, there are very few autonomous liberal personalities here. The Christian Democratic Movement is not at risk from destabilization, and that was decisive for us in this election," added I. Grycz. The Liberals do not see anything sensational in cooperating with Hungarian political entities in Slovakia. On the contrary, they consider this to be an element of political practice. Weiss emphasized that the Liberals are members of the Union of Liberal Youth of Europe and that their closest ties are to the Austrian Freedom Party.

HZDS: CTK Interfering in Election Campaign

AU2909171294 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 28 Sep 94 p 2

[Statement released by the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia Press and Information Office; place and date not given: "Violation of the Statute of an Independent Agency"]

[Text] On 27 September, the daily SME carried an item entitled "Meciar Coffee: Strong or Weak?," which it had taken from the Czech Press Agency [CTK]. This is tendentious material that belittles V. Meciar, chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS]. When its former director general, P. Uhl, was recalled in 1992, the CTK began to adopt a strikingly anti-Slovak stance in its reporting. This is also borne out by the aforementioned article. By issuing this item, it has not only violated its statute as an independent press agency, which requires it to carry politically neutral reports, but, moreover, has interfered, in an inadmissible and unprecedented fashion, in the course of the election campaign in the Slovak Republic. Therefore, the HZDS is going to ask the Slovak Electoral Commission to adopt an official stance on this issue. At the same time, it will recommend that, on the basis of its conclusions, the Slovak Government consider withdrawing accreditation from the CTK editor who wrote the report. In this connection, we wish to emphasize that the Press Agency of the Slovak Republic has never interfered in this way in the affairs of the Czech Republic. The HZDS will ask CTK Director General M. Stibral to ensure that the CTK management publicly distance itself from such practices and make a public apology to the HZDS for this attack.

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Moravcik Address on Government Manifesto

LD2909223594 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1850 GMT 29 Sep 94

[Text] Esteemed viewers, in accordance with his legal constitutional right, Slovak Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik asked Slovak Television to give him an opportunity to address you, the citizens.

[Begin Moravcik recording] Esteemed fellow citizens, at its meeting today, the government assessed the fulfillment of its manifesto. I consider it necessary and desirable to briefly familiarize you with the content of this assessment. You are its final addressees and judges.

The dynamics of the economic growth has increased. Roughly speaking, output has grown considerably for the first time since 1989, and, for the first time, exports have surpassed imports.

The world used to assess this indicator via gross national product. The growth of the gross national product will reach 4 percent this year. This is much more than we expected.

Our international trade relations have substantially improved. For the first time since 1989, exports were higher in the first eight months of 1994 than imports—by 209 million korunas. Our current exports to the Czech Republic are 200 million ECU's [European Currency Units] higher than imports, which represents the sum of almost 8 billion korunas.

All of this is linked to the growth of foreign currency reserves, which, for the first time, have grown above the limit of $3 billion.

These are results that are not yet reflected in our consumer basket in any significant way, but let us realize that the road to economic prosperity is not a matter of a few months. We have to construct our economic system carefully and with a lot of consideration, progressing step by step.

We have started by revitalizing state finance. We have prepared conditions for a radical revitalization of banks. We have put foreign currency economy on safe footing.

We are well aware of the fact that the present tax burden has reached its highest possible level and that it is necessary to create preconditions to reduce it. When we took the step of increasing some taxes, we took it, above all, with regard to our future. We did not want to increase the state debt because we would be forced to pay it off in the years to come and thus hinder a promising development of preconditions for improving our living conditions.

At present, the deficit of our state budget is favorable. We managed to prove that we are capable of living in a way that does not burden our future. This is the source of our optimism. Elements of a healthy market economy have begun to emerge. However, when the market is not developing in the correct way, it is inevitable that the state must exercise its authority. This is one reason we had to intervene and adjust the prices of some foodstuffs. In this context, I mean, above all, potatoes and meat.

Our economy is troubled by the problem of insolvencies and the persisting high interest rate. The Cabinet adopted a program of tackling these problems as a part of the outline of economic policy for the next period, and we will pass it on to the next government as the fruit of our experience. The program represents a realistic chance to tackle these problems.

The key problem of our new economic reform is privatization. Our aim has been to speed up its progress. We succeeded in achieving the necessary dynamics. We processed about 200 decisions and prepared coupon privatization.

I can declare with full responsibility that we consistently fought to free privatization from any political aspects, fought for its increased transparency and its closer link to the state economic policy. Our main purpose in the privatization process was to revive enterprises. The tasks in the economic sphere, even when they are of key importance, cannot be fulfilled without taking into account their social impact. This is why we increased pensions, for instance. The steps taken by the Cabinet in this sphere have led to a social transformation aimed at implementing the principle of social acceptability of social changes. Talks with our social partners, with trade union officials, were difficult but succeeded in preserving social peace. Without it, we would not have succeeded in doing anything fundamental. Our thanks for this go, above all, to all those who had and continue to have reasons to be dissatisfied and whose living conditions are difficult.

The road to satisfaction leads through economic development. This development was and remains an open battlefield.

Measures adopted in education, health care, culture, and public administration were limited by the possibilities allowed by our state budget. Even though we have succeeded in partially improving the budget performance, we are aware of the fact that an essential change can only happen after system changes have taken place in these areas. We have prepared proposals that already have started to be implemented in some areas—for example, in health care—or can be implemented in the immediate future.

Six months ago, we took the responsibility for executive power in Slovakia. The results, which I have just mentioned, could be achieved only thanks to the peaceful atmosphere accompanied by a spirit of cooperation.

On behalf of the outgoing government, I thank all of you for helping us create this atmosphere. [end recording]

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Moravcik on Meat Shortage, Gas Price Hike

LD2909170694 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 29 Sep 94

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik by correspondent Ludmila Bulakova at the Government Office in Bratislava on 29 September—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Bulakova] First, why was the government session held today and not on Tuesday?

[Moravcik] Over the past few weeks and months, both government representatives and politicians have been fully engaged in the election campaign. [passage omitted] That is why we postponed the government session. Nothing on the agenda was so urgent that we could not afford postponing the regular government session from Tuesday to Thursday.

[Bulakova] At the moment, the most topical issue is meat, its shortages and high prices. But the meat-processing companies, in a letter addressed to the minister of agriculture, insist that they drew attention to this problem as early as August. Allegedly, his answer, given in September, was: Don't panic. There is enough meat! Was the government therefore aware of this problem earlier?

[Moravcik] I do not know when the relevant ministry learned about the situation, but the fact is that we had to react to the current situation, and it can only be described as a crisis situation. Therefore, the government immediately had to implement effective measures in order to make a certain correction to the market because routine market mechanisms alone were not enough to ensure citizens' needs.

[Bulakova] The Ministry of Finance today laid down a maximum surcharge applicable to meat and meat products, effective immediately, and, at the same time, lowered the price of gasoline and diesel fuel. The opposition considers this step a unilateral violation of the election price freeze and an abuse of the government's constitutional powers.

[Moravcik] The government simply cannot time market movements to coincide with the election. That would be against the citizens' interests. But the point is that the situation has developed in this way just before the election, and we do regret that it has developed in this way. But we think that, in this respect, certain nonmarket interests, so to speak, might have asserted themselves, so we had to act immediately. That is the government's duty, and the government could be rightly criticized for not meeting this obligation. As for the price of gasoline, again, we had to react because crude oil prices went down, and the world market has developed in a way enabling us to make the adjustments we did. That, too, is our duty.

[Bulakova] When talking about shortages of meat and meat prices, you mentioned the possible existence of the so-called nonmarket interests. This week we heard rumors that the government had been aware that someone was preventing the meat from reaching retail outlets. Have you had this information, or supposition, of yours confirmed?

[Moravcik] Not yet, but it is a fact that, from the point of view of the market mechanism, there is no ground for the sort of meat availability developments we have seen. Therefore, we monitor the situation very closely, but, as usual, it is rather hard to clearly, and to the law's satisfaction, prove the existence of such evidence. We could not wait for the result of these investigations but had to act immediately, and that we did. [passage omitted]

Finance Minister Analyzes Economic Situation

AU2709132194 Bratislava HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak 14 Sep 94 p 5

[Article by Finance Minister Rudolf Filkus: "Fine-Tuning the Measures—A Requirement for the Economy's Efficiency"]

[Text] Slovakia's economy can only be stabilized by realizing a circumspect macroeconomic policy based on the mutual fine-tuning of the measures for the economy's real efficiency and those for consumption. The government set out these aims clearly in its Memorandum on Economic Policy and in its negotiations with the IMF on the provision of a standby loan.

From the point of view of restructuring public finances, I think it is vital to overcome the steep rise in the debt service. The first major step toward this should be resolving the state's internal indebtedness, which arose before 1 January 1993—that is, before the establishment of the independent Slovak Republic—by harnessing the resources of the National Property Fund and by achieving a mutually acceptable adjustment to the credit and interest conditions with the National Bank of Slovakia [NBS] in providing credit for the state debt that has evolved under the independent Slovak Republic.

The Slovak Republic has had a state budget deficit since 1991. From the point of view of the government's future economic policy, the state budget deficit and the rise in the internal state debt caused by it is a major problem for overall macroeconomic stability.

The state's internal indebtedness amounts to approximately 21 percent of the GDP. The government's indebtedness to the National Bank of Slovakia is also caused by the extensive delimitation of the former CSFR's state liabilities toward the Czechoslovak State Bank, which amount to almost 40 percent of the government's liabilities toward the NBS.

The gradual rise in the state's internal as well as external indebtedness is leading, because of the debt service, to the considerable encumberment of the expenditure aspect of the state budget. The debt service is the most

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dynamically increasing element of state budget expenditure. It is growing faster than the state budget's revenue and, thus, is contributing retroactively to the generation of its deficit and the internal indebtedness.

I realize that maintaining macroeconomic stability creates an essential framework for the success of our economy's transformation, the recovery of the entrepreneurial sphere, and the preserving of social peace. Because the deficit management of the state budget disrupts this stability, the government is enforcing an economic policy that will also include curbing the increases in the state's debt. We envisage a state budget deficit of 4 percent of the GDP, at most, for 1994 and of 3 percent of the GDP for 1995.

The envisaged halt in the decline in the GDP this year or the attainment of zero growth and a rise of 2 percent in 1995 should support the objectivity of this aim. Inflation in 1994 should not exceed 12 percent and should be only 8 percent in 1995.

The World and Slovakia

The relationship between Slovakia and the international financial institutions is often discussed in this context. It can be expressed simply as an endeavor to seek a suitable compromise between the need for financial resources to guarantee equilibrium in the balance of payments and the development and restructuring projects on the one hand and an acceptable level for the external indebtedness and the rising proportion of the debt service in the state budget on the other.

The sources of credit provided by the international monetary-financial and banking institutions have played an important role in maintaining macroeconomic stability in the transformation process embarked upon so far in Slovakia. Their interest in the Slovak economy as well as the decisions made on granting loans is an indication for the European and, perhaps, the world economy of the credibility of the Slovak economy and is a positive appreciation of the transformation steps undertaken and, we believe, a challenge to foreign investors to invest in our country.

With regard to the IMF, Slovakia, with the Czech Republic, became a successor state to the two loans obtained by the former CSFR—a standby loan to boost the balance of payments and the bank of issue's foreign currency reserves and a CCFF [Compensatory and Contingency Financing Facility] loan to alleviate the effect of the fluctuations in oil prices as a consequence of the crisis in the Persian Gulf. Following their separation, $484 million accrued to the Slovak Republic.

Last year, after the birth of the independent Slovak Republic, the IMF provided the first tranche of the STF (Systemic Transformation Facility) loan, amounting to $90 million. Negotiations on a standby loan have been taking place since the second half of last year. Following the negotiations with the IMF mission, the Slovak Government adopted a Memorandum on Economic Policy at the end of May. This memorandum should form the basis for the provision of this loan this year.

With regard to the World Bank, Slovakia, with the Czech Republic, became a successor state to the SAL [structural adjustment loan] granted to the CSFR to support the balance of payments and maintain a stable exchange rate; $150 million of it accrued to us. In 1993, Slovakia was granted an ERL [expansion unknown] loan of $80 million. It was also intended to support the balance of payments. At the moment, work is under way in preparation for the provision of an EFSAL loan, which should be utilized to restructure the financial and enterprise sectors. Possibilities are also being sought for the provision of sectoral loans, which would be used, for example, in carrying out a project to expand the international transportation and telecommunications networks (a project worth $50 million was signed in April) housing project, restructuring the gas industry, a health-care project, and, as the case may be, other projects in the transportation, water-maintenance, and retraining spheres.

With regard to the European Investment Bank [EIB], the Slovak Republic is in fourth place among the associated members of the European Union as far as the value of the loans on which agreements were concluded last year is concerned. The Slovak Republic has concluded a general agreement with the EIB. This is necessary for finalizing loans. Four agreements oriented toward European roads, telecommunications, and the gas industry were signed last year.

The Slovak Republic has been a member of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development since 1 January 1993. So far, it has approved participation in nine projects amounting to 241 million ECU's [European Currency Units].

The development of cooperation with international financial institutions is envisaged in the following spheres in the future:

—continuing credit cooperation and preparing sectoral projects;

—developing cooperation in the sphere of specialist-technical assistance;

—making better use of analytical materials and the flow of information.

Banks and Businessmen

By the end of the first quarter of 1994, the value of the credits and loans granted to the entrepreneurial sphere and the population amounted to 254 billion korunas [Sk], which is 2.5 percent less than at the end of 1993. Such development, which is continuing, is a result of the banks' excessive involvement in providing credit and of

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the massive increase in risk credits and temporarily nonliquid outstanding claims.

The most problematic sphere for the banks' prudent activity is their liquidity. The main reason for this is a lack of resources arising from an insufficient flow of funds back to the banks, which is caused by their customers' nonadherence to the repayment plans. This is caused by the low level of prosperity in the entrepreneurial sphere, the lack of success of the new business ventures, and the erroneous decisions made by the commercial banks.

In a situation where the percentage of "bad" and risk credits is estimated at approximately one-quarter of the overall credits (some Sk60 billion), it is essential for the banking sector's further development that a restructuring program be adopted and implemented. The program must also result in the restructuring of the business sector. However, this primarily requires a change in the course of action pursued to date by the banks toward the business sector in granting credits, in implementing bankruptcy proceedings against ineffective and economically nonfunctioning enterprises, and a change in the course of action toward efficient and prosperous enterprises by amending their interest policy and making use of the opportunities to capitalize their outstanding claims in such enterprises.

Changes Are Essential

We are also negotiating with the World Bank on a program for restructuring the banking and entrepreneurial sectors. It is willing, under certain conditions, to provide an EFSAL loan for this purpose.

The NBS's banking and monetary policy will also be of considerable significance for the successful mastering of this comprehensive restructuring. On the whole, the effect of the NBS's policy so far has been to stabilize the Slovak economy, especially in controlling the development of inflation and in guaranteeing the internal convertibility of our currency.

During the past year, the rises in price levels, motivated at the beginning of the year by the introduction of a completely new taxation system and at the beginning of the second half year by a 10-percent devaluation of the koruna, were halted by its monetary policy. The success of this policy is also borne out by making a comparison with the other three Visegrad Four [Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland, and Hungary] states because the annual recorded inflation in the Slovak Republic is comparable with inflation in these countries, which are considered to be the most successful of the transforming countries.

Following last year's difficulties in guaranteeing the necessary foreign currency reserves, the NBS has managed to stabilize them, and a considerable rise has been recorded in 1994. At the moment, the NBS's foreign currency reserves amount to more than $1.3 billion, which covers approximately two months' worth of imports. Foreign currency reserves for the entire banking sector amount to some $2.1 billion.

The Role of the Capital Market

Privatization, and especially coupon privatization, provided the stimulus for the establishment and development of the capital market. The investment companies and privatization funds were established in 1991. They obtained almost 75 percent of the investment points in the first wave of coupon privatization. Forty-two investment companies, 123 investment funds, and 34 stockbrokers are operating on the Slovak capital market at the moment.

The Securities Registration Center, which was established as a shareholding company, with 100-percent participation by the state, occupies a special place among the organizers of the capital market. Its basic role is to keep a central register of the issuers of registered securities and the accounts of the owners of these securities.

During the course of last year and this, the appropriate legislation regulating the conditions for the operation of the capital market was finalized. First and foremost, the laws on investment companies and investment funds and on securities were amended.

The lingering problems facing the Slovak economy, accompanied by a lack of capital, to a great extent also influence the current situation on the capital market and its operation. So far, the Slovak capital market is not very liquid. We envisage that the signs of recovery in the entrepreneurial sphere and the successful implementation of the prepared program for the financial restructuring of the banking, business, and public sectors will have a positive effect on the development of the capital market and will increase the volume of trade on it. We also anticipate a positive stimulus from the next stage of privatization and from the second wave of coupon privatization within it.

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Mitterrand Promises Full Support for EU Entry

LD2909172094 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1500 GMT 29 Sep 94

[Text] France considers Hungary's admission to the EU [European Union] to be an issue already decided, said President Francois Mitterrand during a lunch reception in honor of Hungarian President Arpad Goncz. Our correspondent Miklos Keleti reports from Paris.

[Keleti] For Hungary, France is a strategic partner. In order for us to join the EU the support of Paris is just as indispensable as that of Germany, Arpad Goncz said on his way out of Elysee Palace, where he was Francois Mitterrand's guest for lunch.

According to the French president, Hungary's admission to the EU is an issue that has been decided. From now on talks will be held on the schedule and technical details. Francois Mitterrand also confirmed that there was no difference of views between the French and the German positions regarding Hungary's EU entry. Thus, Francois Mitterrand confirmed at the highest level all that Arpad Goncz heard from his other French negotiating partners today. The essence of it is that, although France is no longer a world power, it is still a decisive force in the EU and it simply cannot afford East-Central Europe to be out of its sight.

There is no reason for Hungary to think it has a disadvantage compared to any other Central European country. Or, as President Mitterrand put it, today French-Hungarian relations are based on mutual interests and more and more positive emotional factors are motivating their improvement.

Goncz on Successful Talks

LD3009092394 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0600 GMT 30 Sep 94

[Excerpt] Our special correspondent Miklos Keleti reports from Paris. Hungarian President Arpad Goncz has summed up the results of his official Paris visit at a news briefing.

[Keleti] We know well enough the birth experience of the European Union, the political processes during which the Common Market is being turned into a union. These problems are made even worse by the Central European countries that intend to join. This was said by President Arpad Goncz adding that, in spite of this, in our view, the admission of these countries was in the interest of West Europe as well.

President Goncz described his talks as being extremely successful. He said this was not unfounded optimism, although French promises and positive answers had indeed been endorsed by negative answers.

For example, the French side has categorically expressed that Hungarian labor is not welcome, since they have enough problems because of immigration. They are not particularly happy about the fact either that Hungary would like to export a larger amount of its agricultural products to the French market.

However, both President Mitterrand and Prime Minister Balladur said a definite yes to our admission to the union. [passage omitted]

Main Points of Coexistence's Election Platform

94CH0438A Bratislava UJ SZO in Hungarian 9 Sep 94 p 7

[Statement issued by the Coexistence Political Movement: "The Pillars of the Coexistence Program"]

[Text]

Political Goals

The politics of COEXISTENCE are based on what its name conveys: It encourages the establishment and development of a democratic constitutional state, whose laws guarantee the freedom of human thought and action. We want to build a state that enables national communities and other minorities their political, religious, ethnic, etc. self-realization [as published], and in which the rights of one group of human beings do not restrict, in any respect, the prevalence of the rights of others.

Government Administrative Arrangement

In ordering the country's government administration we once again observe the need that it be centered around human beings and the interests of small communities. We regard the European Charter for Local Government as our guide. We believe that the central legislative and executive power should not interfere with the lives of small communities, villages, and cities, and natural regions. Instead, the central government should establish an appropriate framework to enable these [communities, municipalities and regions] to tend their own economic, social, cultural, and other affairs and concerns. In establishing opportunities, the scope of appropriate authority to be granted to local governments is the most important consideration, and so is the need to secure the economic background needed for their functioning. This can be achieved in part as a result of changes in the tax system, and in part by expanding entrepreneurial opportunities. We regard as important that local governments have a decisive voice in the permitting process when planning major state investment projects, such as highway and power plant construction, the placement of military units, and similar matters.

Social Program

In this regard it is the central goal of COEXISTENCE to do everything possible to prevent general impoverishment. We want to achieve this at the state and legislative level primarily by creating workplaces, and by formulating an economic-entrepreneurial milieu which enables

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every healthy person capable and willing to work, to earn a decent income to support himself and his family. Of fundamental importance is the need to make deep-seated changes in the Slovak social security system, discontinuing the monopolistic situation of various insurance institutions, while the state must guarantee the social security of certain groups of people, such as retired persons, families with small children, and disabled pensioners.

Economic Development

Our economic policy advocates the development of a market economy consistent with the standards of the European Union, in which state-owned, economic branches of strategic significance, privately owned large, medium, and small enterprises, and various cooperative structures exist in appropriate harmony. No less significant is the need to establish identical opportunities for the various forms of production. As part of economic development, we pay great attention to the peculiar characteristics of various regions, to existing natural characteristics, technical conditions, and intellectual values.

We find it necessary to revamp the state's policy of providing grants, and the award of preferential support funds by public foundations, and preferential loans by banks, for regional development purposes. In this regard, we must pay distinguished attention to the development of agriculture and the food industry; securing food supplies is of strategic significance to every country, after all.

Environmental Protection

Contrary to [the practice pursued in] previous decades, we must not go on destroying nature, our environment, and our living space. There is a particularly great need in southern Slovakia to consistently observe environmental protection considerations, because statistical records indicate that the average life expectancy is shortest in this region. This is clearly caused by the unhealthy environment and way of life.

Culture, Education

Consistent with the goals of the consistent protection of minorities, we urge the development of a total system of teaching in the native language, from nursery schools to universities. We are convinced that this is the foundation upon which we can retain the legacy of our national culture, pursue cultural activities which create new values, while preserving our native language and our national existence.

Hungarian Christian Democrats' Education Platform

94CH0438B Bratislava UJ SZO in Hungarian 5 Sep 94 p 7

["Political advertisement" of the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement in Slovakia: "From the MKDM Program on Upbringing and Education"]

[Text] An open, free, and from the prevailing power's goals and ideology independent educational and schooling system, that has its roots in general human and European Christian traditions, is the sole acceptable alternative to the MKDM [Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement—MKDH in Slovak].

Our Movement urges educational and schooling reform, which establishes institutions independent from the prevailing power.

It advocates that moral upbringing become an equal ranking part of the schooling system, because only intelligent citizens espousing a moral system of values are capable of developing and sustaining democratic constitutional statehood, and obeying the laws of the same.

The Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement Urges

—the earliest possible redefinition of compulsory education, and the changing of the related law;

—free of charge education in basic and intermediate schools, including the free of charge provision of school books;

—the development of a basic plan for education, and the promulgation of such plan in the form of law;

—the establishment of an independent nationalities division in the Ministry of Education, to deal with nationality schools;

—the establishment of an educational institutional system for schools teaching in the Hungarian language (central school superintendency, educational methods center, educational research institute);

—the organizing of classes for Hungarian schools in the State Education Institute;

—autonomy for educational affairs;

—the direction of schools by local governments, because needs can best be determined locally, and all arising problems can be acted upon most quickly locally;

—the determination of the amount of state support calculated on a per student basis; a state obligation to pay this amount after each and every student to the educational institution attended by the student, irrespective of whether that institution is a state institution;

—the introduction of a competitive system, which enables the publication of new text books, the proliferation of educational methods, the support of major investments, as well as the support of poor but talented children, with the help of public foundations (state foundations);

—the assurance of the ability to acquire culture in the native language, from nursery school to higher education;

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—the establishment and operation of parochial, private, and foundation schools, and educational institutions operating in other forms, in addition to state schools;

—legally guaranteed equal conditions for private, parochial, and other educational institutions;

—payment of the per student state subsidy after non-state, skilled worker apprentice students, and the same to tradesmen, professionals, or entrepreneurs agreeing to provide on the job training, and the granting of tax benefits to such persons;

—an equal ranking of various forms of training in intermediate school training;

—the earliest possible passage and enactment of a law on higher education;

—the granting of an independent legal entity status to educational institutions;

—the establishment of conditions for Hungarian professional training in the framework of an independent Hungarian institution of higher education;

—legal guarantees for the establishment of various forms of continued education (e.g. city universities);

—the opening of additional parochial schools (nursery schools, orphanages, boarding schools, if necessary), because the MKDM recognizes these as the most likely institutions to provide a moral upbringing;

—the establishment of Hungarian departments in seminaries to discontinue the catastrophic shortage of priests.

The Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement supports all educational and schooling initiatives which enhance the moral and spiritual renewal of society.

Hungarian Civic Party Platform on Ethnic Issues

94CH0438C Bratislava VASARNAP in Hungarian 11 Sep 94 p unnumbered

[Unsigned article in four-page supplement outlining the election platform of the Hungarian Civic Party in Slovakia: "Being At Home, In Our Native Land; Representation of Minority Interests"]

[Text] The Hungarian people of Slovakia are the beholders of centuries old traditions and cultural values. This legacy creates an obligation. It obligates us to convey these traditions and values to our children and grandchildren. Minority interest representation must aim for enabling us to preserve, enrich, and convey this heritage. To make this come true, our community needs legal frameworks in which neither overt, nor covert assimilation can prevail.

Our ability to stand fast and exist is conditioned by increased economic strength. We must develop a strong economic background for our institutions, organizations, schools, and local governments, which guarantees the development of our community. No dependence is greater than financial dependence. Most economic conditions can be established at the regional level, and therefore the free associations of municipalities, and the regions must gain strength from both a legal and an economic standpoint.

The new government administrative units must be based on the small district system, and on the already established regions, expanding the scope of jurisdiction of local, regional, and county local governments.

At the same time, as citizens of this state we must receive our share of all benefits that are provided by the state to its citizens. Beyond these, in the interest of developing our culture, it is necessary to maintain the system of subsidies that is due to us based on the disadvantaged situation of our minority culture.

Our most important goal is the establishment of our cultural and educational self government. We must take into our own hands the management of affairs related to our culture, our acquisition of culture, and our traditions. The personal conditions of this matter are given, we must develop the related institutional and economic framework. The entire cultural and educational institutional system must be established in the framework of a minority law, just as other rights of Hungarians, such as language use, cultural, and other rights must be spelled out in a minority law.

Everyone knows that the impact of the legal deprivation of the postwar period can be felt to this date, in our everyday lives. The principle of collective guilt must, forever be deleted from our legal system, and the injuries suffered in those days must be settled in a satisfactory manner.

The new parliament must correct discriminatory provisions that can be found in the Constitution, which are in conflict with European legal standards.

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Controversy Around Senate Speaker's Visit to SR

LD2909135294 Warsaw Radio 'Warszawa Network in Polish 1105 GMT 29 Sep 94

[Text] Poland and the Slovak Republic [SR] will endeavor to enter the European Union within the framework of the Visegrad Group.

This position has been confirmed during plenary talks in Bratislava headed by Senate Speaker Adam Struzik and Slovak Parliament Speaker Ivan Gasparovic. It has also been decided to continue consultations between the parliament members of both countries in the Council of Europe. A number of concrete issues were also discussed, such as border cooperation, the need to set up a joint bank, the plan to link the Odra and Danube Rivers through the Wag River, and plans concerning the construction of the north-south highway and railway line.

Today, Speaker Struzik also met President Michal Kovac, who expressed the hope that Slovak-Polish cooperation will continue to develop. Struzik is also to meet Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik and the leaders of all of the political parties invited to a meeting at the Polish Embassy in Bratislava.

Opinion by sections of the Polish press and the Polish Foreign Ministry has been divided over the visit. The ministry was against the visit because it was taking place in the period of the election campaign in Slovakia. Struzik was attacked at a news conference today for meeting over dinner yesterday with Vladimir Meciar, leader of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS]. Ivan Gasparovic, who is the host of the visit, said that it was he who invited Meciar as the leader of his party. He also expressed surprise at such extensive concern by the Polish media over the election in Slovakia. Speaker Struzik said that he did not consider himself such an important person as to influence the history of the SR. He also said that the HZDS was very close to the PSL [Polish Peasant Party], of which he is a member, and that he was going to cooperate with this party.

Gasparovic confirmed that comments in Poland had prompted changes to the program of Struzik's visit, which resulted in, among other things, the meeting tonight at the Polish Embassy with the leaders of all of the parties operating in Slovakia.

New Candidate Found for Head of Intelligence

WS2909115994 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 29 Sep 94 p 3

[Article by A.K.: "Libera—New Head of Intelligence?"]

[Text] Andrzej Libera, currently trade counselor at the embassy in Vienna, is a candidate for head of intelligence, TRYBUNA learned from unofficial sources. Gromoslaw Czempinski, chief of the Office of State Protection [UOP], said that the name of the new head of intellignece will be announced after 1 October. At present, consultations are still being held about the candidacy.

The UOP chief refused to disclose who he consulted about the candidacy for the new head of intelligence. It is known, however, that, on Wednesday morning, he paid a visit to Aleksander Kwasniewski, leader of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD]. Minister Andrzej Milczanowski announced that the new candidacy will be discussed with the prime minister and the president.

The candidate has worked for Polish intelligence for many years. His spheres of activity have included scientific espionage as well as Central and East Europe. In the past few years, Libera was a representative of Polish intelligence in Vienna, a very specific place from the point of view of espionage. In this particular city, according to an unwritten law of intelligence, there exists a "nonagression pact." Typical espionage activities do not take place here but, rather, negotiations and an exchange of information.

After the dismissal of Zacharski, it was said that the new head of intelligence would be nominated according to political lines. "This post should be occupied by an apolitical professional," SLD Deputy Janusz Zemke told us. "Otherwise, the secret services would become an element of political deals and could not function properly," added the deputy.

Walesa Sounds Out Support in Coming Election

WS2909124494 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 28 Sep 94 p 2

[Article by PAD, M.D.Z.: "Will Walesa Offer UW Leaders Posts in His Chancellery? The Head of a Belweder Minister"]

[Text] *"I do not think that the opposition, including Freedom Union [UW], is ready to immediately begin cooperation with the president for the price of the head of one of the Belweder ministers," says Donald Tusk. Meanwhile, however, a meeting between the president and Bronislaw Geremek scheduled for Thursday and an announcement of a meeting to be held with the UW Parliamentary Club seem to indicate that Walesa intends to establish closer relations with this political party. "We want mutual support and agreement regarding programs," says Leszek Spalinski, the presidential spokesman. It cannot be ruled out that Lech Walesa will offer UW leaders posts in his office.*

Walesa already declared his readiness to cooperate with Solidarity-based parties at the end of August. He has met with top "Solidarity" officials, and now he wants to speak with the Union. "Let us look for...

What We Have in Common

...Not what divides us," says the president in an attempt to establish a new program platform for the political

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camp he is trying to create. "The offer will include just a few points and will interest nearly everyone who does not reject cooperation with Lech Walesa, as such," says Leszek Spalinski, and he does not conceal the fact that Professor Geremek advocates creating such a program. In preparation for the election campaign—Lech Falandysz is frank about the issue—the president is trying to find out who could support him. "But more important is the parliamentary election and cooperation within its framework," says Spalinski.

Political groups viewed by Lech Walesa and his colleagues presented different conditions for cooperating with the president, but one was quoted in nearly every instance—that changes in the president's immediate surroundings be made.

Walesa spoke of possible personnel changes within his office in early spring of this year. He declared that these changes would pertain to everyone. When asked about Mieczyslaw Wachowski, he replied:...

"If the Need Arises

...I will also replace my closest staff." So far, however, only two changes have been made: Jerzy Milewski, head of the National Security Office, was replaced by Prime Minister Henryk Goryszewski, who was to pave the way for the Christian-National Union [ZChN] and other rightist parties. Goryszewski did hold exploratory talks with politicians from the ZChN ("These were merely private meetings," Wieslaw Chrzanowski claims), the Movement for the Republic ("The minister asked our opinions on various topics," says Romuald Szeremietiew), and the Union for Real Politics ("Mr. Goryszewski asked us about many things, but I will not specify what they were," states Stanislaw Michalkiewicz).

Apart from Milewski, Press Spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski also left. "This is leading in the opposite direction. It is rather the effect of party games. Wachowski, not Drzycimski, is the problem," according to a comment made on the changes by Bogdan Borusewicz, a longstanding acquaintance of Walesa.

According to unofficial reports, the president would be ready...

To Make Far-Reaching Concessions

The post of head of the presidential office may become vacant at any moment (over the past few months, Janusz Ziolkowski has put himself at the president's disposal because of health problems). It is also probable that, as early as October, the president will part ways with Minister Mieczyslaw Wachowski in a more or less spectacular manner.

"The president is mistaken if he believes that dismissing Wachowski will bring the results he expects. It is already too late for that," says Borusewicz. "I do not think the opposition, including UW, is ready to cooperate for the price of one or two Belweder ministers," claims Donald Tusk, and adds, "There are much more serious issues—for instance, the concept of the Presidential Office, the coming election campaign, and Walesa's attitude toward the law. His latest breakneck decisions concerning the National Broadcasting Council must cause us to reconsider any possibilities of cooperation."

UW leaders do not hide, however, that Wachowski's departure would be interpreted as a signal that Walesa has not completely lost his political intuition.

Opinion Poll Confirms SLD, PSL in Lead

WS2609152194 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26 Sep 94 pp 1-2

[Article by Renata Wrobel: "Left Wing Leads, Right Wing Weak"]

[Text] If we were to elect deputies a year after the last parliamentary election—that is, in mid-September of this year—every fourth voter would have supported the lists of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD],; the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] would have received a little less backing, and every seventh voter would have backed the Freedom Union [UW].

The greatest surprise would have been the relatively good position of "Solidarity" ["S], which would have been backed by every ninth voter. Rightist parties would still be missing in the Sejm. Also, the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN] would have found itself outside of parliament. The poll was carried out for our daily by the Sopot-based Public Opinion Research Institute [PBS].

"S" Riding the Crest of the Wave

Even though "S" would have occupied only the fourth position in the race for deputy seats, it is possible that this grouping might have been acclaimed the biggest winner. It did not do very well in the last election and did not introduce any representatives to the parliament. In the opinion polls that followed the election, for several months its support varied from 2 to 4 percent. The situation began to change in the beginning of the year, when it started to exceed the 5-percent threshold that is required in the Electoral Law. It gradually regained its influence, perhaps thanks to supporting and organizing employees' protests. Its popularity increased rapidly because of the campaign of collecting signatures under the citizens' draft constitution. The following months will show whether this success is lasting.

"S" is attracting, first and foremost, people dissatisfied with their general situation, people who are facing the danger of losing their jobs, people who find it difficult to make ends meet, senior citizens, disabled pensioners, persons who work in state-owned enterprises, people who are, in addition, against the groupings that are currently in power in Poland.

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Left Wing Leads

The most popular grouping continues to be the SLD, which is ahead of its coalition partner, the PSL. This poll did not confirm the results of the poll carried out by the Center for Research on Public Opinion early in September, in line with which the two groupings changed positions.

At the beginning of the year, the SLD collected 19 or 20 percent of the "votes." An improvement came in May, and, since that time, the rating of the left wing has been pretty stable. Also, the number of potential PSL voters has not changed much for the past several months.

Two Unions

The strongest opposition grouping is still UW. Even though several months have already passed since the Democratic Union [UD] united with the Liberal-Democratic Congress [KLD], the number of supporters of this grouping is not clearly increasing. UW still has fewer supporters than UD and the KLD had before unification.

The crisis of the Union of Labor [UP], announced in June, when the party failed in the local elections, is not confirmed by opinion polls. For more than 10 months now, UP has not collected fewer than 8 percent of the "votes"; in the most recent poll, it once again did even better and reached the 10-percent support level.

Above and Below the Limit

The Nonparty Bloc in Support of Reforms [BBWR] is still balancing on the border that shows the way to the parliament. The KPN is in a similar situation. The difference is that the BBWR has been drawing nearer to the "border" from above, whereas the KPN, for several months, has been coming closer to the border from below.

The success of rightist parties in the June local elections cannot be easily transferred to the possible results of the parliamentary election. Each of the rightist coalitions—the Alliance for Poland [PdP] (Center Accord—PC, Christian-National Union—ZChN, Szeremietiew's Movement for the Republic, and the Conservative Coalition) and the Accord of 11 November [P11L] (Union for Real Politics—UPR, Conservative Party, Party of Christian Democrats, Peasant-Christian Party, and the National-Democratic Party) attract 3-4 percent of the voters. It can be suspected that most voters do not really know the names of these coalitions and do not know their composition and programs. It is worth recalling that, as recently as in August, we asked questions about support for each grouping. At that time, for example, the PC and UPR alone collected 3 percent of the "votes" each, and the ZChN received even 6 percent.

* * *

Monthly polls of election preferences are carried out for RZECZPOSPOLITA by the PBS. The most recent one was conducted on 17 and 18 September among 1,040 persons representative of the adult population of Poland.

	Jul	Aug	Sep
	(in percent)		
SLD	23	25	25
PSL	17	18	18
UW	12	13	14
"S"	7	8	11
UP	8	8	10
BBWR	6	6	5
KPN	5	3	4
PdP	Not taken into account in poll	Not taken into account in poll	4
P11L	Not taken into account in poll	Not taken into account in poll	3

'Incredible' Raids on Amphetamine Factories

WS2909131194 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 29 Sep 94 p 1

[Article by Jan Danielski in Lublin: "Second Amphetamine Production Plant Closed Down"]

[Text] Over the past two days, the police have confiscated amphetamines and the intermediate product necessary for their production, worth over 600 billion zlotys, from members of the drug Mafia. This is according to the Voivodship Public Prosecutor's Office in Lublin. On Tuesday and Wednesday, over dozens of hours, the police and officers of the Office of State Protection raided two illegal plants producing synthetic drugs and arrested five persons involved in their production.

"We have hit upon something incredible. An amphetamine factory was raided while production was actually under way, and it was first time so many people had been detained in such an operation in Poland and the third time in all of Europe," an anonymous prosecutor from Lublin told us after yesterday's action.

Polish police were able to track down the amphetamine producers with the help of the Swedish police, who two months earlier had arrested Ewa J., of Lublin, on charges of smuggling 6 kg of white powder.

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PFP Military Exercises Planned for Transylvania

AU2909145594 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 27 Sep 94 p 1

[Report by Doru Dragomir: "Between 28 September and 3 October Large-Scale Military Exercises Will Be Held in the Apuseni Mountains"]

[Text] Between 28 September and 3 October, in the Apuseni Mountains, large-scale military exercises will be held within the Partnership for Peace [PFP] program, with the participation of the airborne, air, and ground units of the National Defense Ministry. Military observers of NATO member countries, as well as those that have joined the PFP program, have been invited to attend the exercises.

The exercises will take place in the area that falls under the responsibility of the 4th Army, headed by General Paul Cheler. Marksmanship qualification will also be organized for all types of infantry weapons. According to the exercise plans, during joint drills the infantry troops will be supported by the Air Force and airborne forces.

Suspension Procedures Initiated Against PSDR

AU2909205894 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 29 Sep 94

[Text] Initially convened for a briefing on the recent activity of the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR], the meeting of this political alliance's council, which took place this afternoon, changed its agenda. On behalf of the Social Democratic Party of Romania [PSDR], President Sergiu Cunescu presented a letter, which contained a number of critical remarks about the CDR's functioning and leadership style. After an analysis and estimation of the possible implications and consequences of Mr. Sergiu Cunescu's letter on the CDR's activity, the Council decided to ask the CDR's Executive Committee to initiate the procedure of suspending this political grouping for a period of 30 days, so that it clarifies its stance.

The decision was made with 16 votes in favor, one vote against, from the Civic Alliance Party [PAC], and an absentee, the PSDR.

It is worth mentioning that, in accordance with the protocol on the CDR's functioning, the suspension procedure is followed by the proper expulsion from the alliance. Aside from the communique announcing this decision, the CDR Council unanimously adopted a statement reiterating the validity of the protocol on the Convention's functioning, concluded in 1993, and of the additional act to the protocol, signed this year. The statement also reiterated the need to preserve the CDR's unity, which is considered to be an important political asset—our correspondent Elena Perdichi reports.

Editorial on Objections to New U.S. Ambassador

AU2909175694 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 24-25 Sep 94 pp 1, 10

[Editorial by Cristian Tudor Popescu: "The Letter of the Seven"]

[Excerpts] There can hardly be a more spectacular turnaround than that of the seven parliamentarians (Adrian Motiu, Emil Roman from the PUNR—National Romanian Unity Party; Dumitru Caluianu, Alexandru Popovici from the PL '93—Liberal Party '93; Ioan Coja from the PDAR—Democratic Agrarian Party of Romania; Matei Boila from the PNTCD—National Peasant Christian-Democratic Party; and Simeon Tatu from PDSR—Social Democracy Party of Romania), who, in an appeal sent to the U.S. Senate, requested the cancellation of Mr. Alfred Moses' appointment as U.S. ambassador to Romania. As far as Mr. Dumitru Caluian and Father Tatu are concerned, things are a little clearer, but not quite: When they became apprehensive yesterday, they publicly withdrew their signatures, mumbling some explanations and happy deep down in their hearts that it was not a declaration of war against the United States. This could be the subject of somber meditation on the issue of (ir)responsibility, which is bouncing unhampered among the elected personalities of the nation. Mr. Matei Boila said in an interview to the BBC that his option stemmed from the strictly personal resentment he feels against Mr. Moses. Alexandru Popovici is letting his signature stand and is denouncing the respective document, also for personal reasons, although the PNTCD and the PL '93 have detached themselves from the positions of those members who became involved in the affair. Then, here we are, left only with the PUNR and Mr. Coja, whose opinions are well known.

Thus, we are dealing with the machinations of Mr. Gheorghe Funar [PUNR president] or Mr. Ioan Gavra's [PUNR vice president] party, who, in a pathetic and electoral way, supported everything included in the letter of the seven. Thus, let us review the letter:

"Mr. Alfred Moses was, for a long time, associated with the Ceausescu couple. At Ceausescu's request, he covered up, concealed, or minimized the situation in Romania before certain U.S. Congressional committees in the seventies and eighties."

This is extraordinary. It means that, so far, the PUNR has not felt the need to show its indignation about the presence in parliament, the government, and the leadership of the entire state apparatus of certain famous bootlickers of the Ceausescu couple or about some former or current loudmouths who did not hide, conceal, or minimize anything, but shouted in a comradely manner and stifled not the voices of the Americans, but of their own fellow citizens until the morning of 22 December 1989. But, now, they do so with a foreigner, for whom, in his capacity as leader of the American Jews, it was absolutely normal to have close relations with

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Ceausescu in the well-known process of selling and buying them. Reasoning along this line, by the end of the letter, the Executive Bureau of the PUNR reached unequaled pinnacles by drawing attention to the threat of the United States might bring communists to power in Romania with the help of the Ceausescu sympathizer Alfred Moses! So that is where the restoration comes from—over the ocean!

"This appointment would be at variance with fundamental American values..." It means that the gentlemen in the PUNR, the sole paid guardians of fundamental Romanian values, have no idea what the American fundamental values are: the interests of the United States and pragmatism. If they send Mr. Moses to Bucharest, the Americans will do so after long deliberation, choosing a dignitary with many contacts, who is very knowledgeable in Romanian and East European affairs, and who was former U.S. President Carter's special counselor. Maybe our PUNR members would have been much happier if he were a WASP (white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant), blond, and an alcoholic, who would not care less whether he had been appointed to a mission in Bucharest or Kuala Lumpur, because they are incapable of understanding that exactly this choice of the United States shows that country's interest in having consistent relations with Romania. Moreover, they believe that "this accreditation" puts into jeopardy the good relations between the two countries and no doubt it will "fuel extremism in this area of Europe." Thus, here is the smooth threat, the key point of their action: Mr. Alfred Moses is Jewish! And not just any Jew, but the president of the American Jewish Committee. Apart from the racism and xenophobia here, there is also a perfect political idiocy, an attempt to ignore Romania's interests because of some personal instincts. [passage omitted]

The United States announced through Mr. Christopher Fitzgerald, press attache at the U.S. Embassy in Bucharest, that "for us, only the official declaration of the Romanian Government is important" and that the letter of the seven "represents only the opinions of a few people and includes a number of unfounded accusations that are not even worth talking about." The feeling of the ridiculous that overwhelms one can only be eliminated by sorrow....

Certainly, in an absurd way, we might consider the letter of the seven as the perfectly legal democratic right of certain parliamentarians to express their opinion. But how can the ruling party view it, a party that has to cope for the second time with a PUNR act that seriously violates the understanding according to which any problems of particular importance should be discussed by the leaderships of the two parties? The first violation occurred on 5 September 1994, when Gheorghe Funar sent a letter to Emil Constantinescu [Democratic Convention of Romania president]—while Foreign Minister Melescanu was in Budapest to discuss the Romanian-Hungarian treaty—in which he demanded the banning of the the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania]. [passage omitted]

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Rose Warns Against 'Excessive Force' on Serbs

AU2909145494 Paris AFP in English 1344 GMT 29 Sep 94

[Text] Sarajevo, Sept 29 (AFP)—The UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] here reacted coolly Thursday [29 September] to criticism by U.S. Defence Secretary William Perry of its weak response to Bosnian Serb violations of UN resolutions on Bosnia. Perry wants U.S. allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, meeting in the Spanish city of Seville, to take a tough stance against the Serbs and make them pay "a heavy price" for ignoring NATO-backed UN ultimatums.

But Lt-Colonel Tim Spicer, spokesman for the UN Bosnia commander Lt-General Sir Michael Rose, said it was for UN forces in Bosnia to decide how to respond to clashes with Serbs, not NATO. And he rejected charges that the UN Protection Force in Bosnia had responded feebly to Serb attacks.

"I would say (...) that we use force proportionate to what we feel is appropriate at the time," said Spicer. "It is the local commander's decision as to what force should be used, and if he chooses to use NATO force in support of UNPROFOR he will ask for the appropriate measure of force.

"If he (Perry) is speaking in Seville and saying that, that's fine. Our view is that those NATO planes are in support of UNPROFOR and the decision to call on them is the ground commander's."

In an interview with the OSLOBODJENJE newspaper published Thursday Rose warned against the dangers of using excessive force, which he said could plunge the UN operation here into a Somalia-style debacle. He said UNPROFOR would never overstep the "Mogadishu line," a reference to the failed UN operation in Somalia where a tough stance led to fierce fights with local Somali warlords and eventual withdrawal of most UN peacekeepers, notably the American troops who had spearheaded the original operation in the Horn of Africa state.

UNHCR Says Enclaves Facing Food Crisis

AU2909150994 Paris AFP in English 1443 GMT 29 Sep 94

[Text] Sarajevo, Sept 29 (AFP)—Besieged Moslem enclaves in eastern Bosnia are facing a food crisis provoked by a Bosnian Serb blockade which has dramatically slashed relief supplies to the UN-protected zones, a UN aid official said Thursday.

Food aid to Gorazde in September was cut to a third of the levels during the same month last year, said Kris Janowski, spokesman for the Sarajevo office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR]. UNHCR officials in the town said "the Gorazde food situation is becoming increasingly difficult, even though they say it is not alarmist yet," he said. "In September Gorazde got 32 percent of the food it received last year, so it's a considerable decrease in the amount of food. With the current stoppage of convoys this of course does not help the situation."

All UN aid convoys through Serb-held areas have been blocked following a NATO airstrike against a Serb tank violating the Sarajevo heavy weapons exclusion zone, ordered after the Serbs attacked a UN light tank. A UN military convoy carrying supplies for the British garrison in Gorazde arrived in the enclave late Wednesday after being blocked by the Serbs at Rogatica for six days.

UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] senior spokesman Lt-Colonel Tim Spicer said perishable food on the convoy had been "given away to the locals," while dried food had been taken into Gorazde.

Janowski said the situation in Srebrenica was also becoming increasingly difficult, saying: "If there are no convoys in the next week or two the situation will become very difficult." UNHCR officials in the enclave said no one was dying of malnutrition and doctors had dismissed Bosnian media reports that the enclaves were in the grip of fatal epidemics, he said. Some 125,000 people are crammed into the eastern enclaves, with around 44,000 in Srebrenica, 65,000 in Gorazde and 16,000 in Zepa.

Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic vowed last month to tighten the Serb stranglehold on the eastern enclaves to retaliate against Belgrade's decision to impose a total trade blockage against areas of Bosnia controlled by his forces.

Ganic on Federation Agreement Implementation

AU2909214094 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 29 Sep 94

[Text] Today, Ejup Ganic, member of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and vice president of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, was the guest on the "Open Studio" program of Bosnia-Herzegovina Radio. On that occasion, the topic was the implementation of the agreement and accord on the federation. Answering questions by Dzevad Dziho, the program editor, Dr. Ganic touched upon several issues. In this evening's newscast, we carry a part of this program:

[Begin recording] [Dziho] You once said that the project of the federation makes it possible for the Bosniak and Croatian peoples to survive on this territory and also makes it possible for Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia to survive within their internationally recognized borders. Thus, we cannot speak about the federation as a project of current political interests or a dictate by the United States.

[Ganic] Well, yes. This of course is not a project of a momentary political interest, it is a project of a long-term political interest and this is not a dictate of the United States, as the United States offered good services and a formula for solving this crisis. Therefore, with the

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concept of the federation, this Bosnian formula has become simpler and everything has been reduced to aggression by the aggressor from Serbia. The concept of the federation and the federation itself offer a solution for all of Bosnia-Herzegovina because there are good prospects that, after establishing the federation on the territory where Bosniaks and Croats are the majority population, that model of democratic authority may be extended to the remaining parts of the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Dziho] When you mention the entire Bosnia-Herzegovina as a federation, will we have to wait long for that?

[Ganic] Well, you know, this is a process. A lot depends on the work in the field. I would mention the fact that the federation is the best way to preserve the entire Bosnia-Herzegovina and to preserve the entire Croatia as a state, because any creation of certain exclusive national states on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina would automatically create, well....

[Dziho, interrupting] Only a negation of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Ganic] No. It would simply bring to the same level our other our neighbors, above all Croatia, where a certain number of Serbs are trying to create a separate state, something now called Krajina, the so-called republic of Serb Krajina.

[Dziho] Let us go back to what was done in the past six months. Namely, assessment has been made that not much has been achieved in the first six month since the signing of the Washington Agreement. One result was the halting of the conflicts, which led to an initial rapprochement, but nothing more has been done. Has an analysis been made of why the deadlines established at the Constitutional Assembly of the Federation have not been observed?

[Ganic] Well, you know, when talking about what has and has not been done, we often evaluate this project of federation from a Sarajevo viewpoint. We often create statistics, opinions, or conduct opinion polls, thus making a sort of analysis in this Sarajevo valley. Unfortunately, we have been blocked and occupied by the aggressor's forces, so that all these analyses and a sort of a result are under a certain psychological pressure. Therefore, those steps forward, these results of the implementation of the Federation are not felt much in Sarajevo. There are places that have really gained peace with the establishment of the federation, places where schools began working, roads were opened. There many such results, positive results. What is worrying is that there were no major reasons for us having more such results, as refugees have not returned to their homes. This is, to put it that way, an inglorious part of this project in its present stage.

However, the very fact that a large section of the front no longer exists, that many of the forces have been redirected to other regions, that war is not being waged, and that people in a part of our state turned to work and creativeness is the very result of this project. In my opinion, far more could have been done under the present conditions. It was expected of the authorities at a certain level to make the decision about the degree of war economy and the degree of market economy that should be activated. Now we have possibilities to activate production in some places, some regions. The very activation of that production is also a sort of catalyst for the development of the federation. [end recording]

UN Reports Serb Mortars Kill Eight in Tesanj

AU2909155394 Paris AFP in English 1517 GMT 29 Sep 94

[Text] Sarajevo, Sept 29 (AFP)—Serb mortar attacks on the northern town of Tesanj have left some eight people dead and a similar number wounded, UN officials here said Thursday [29 September].

Two people died and a child was seriously wounded Tuesday when three shells exploded around 150 metres (yards) from a UN warehouse in the town, said Kris Janowski, spokesman for the Sarajevo office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees.

The shells struck just as an aid convoy was unloading at the base, although the casualties were not employed by the UN organisation.

UN Protection Force spokesman Lt-Colonel Tim Spicer said a separate Serb artillery attack elsewhere in the town the same day had caused six more deaths and injured nine others.

Sarajevo Radio Roundup on Combat Situation

AU3009103794

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 0900 GMT on 30 Sep carries in its regular nine-minute newscast three reports on the current combat situation in the republic.

An unidentified correspondent reports on the situation in the 3d Corps theater of operations and says that "chetniks from Vozuca yesterday launched an infantry attack along the Gaj-Golotinj road; after being completely defeated, they tried again, this time along the Vis-Sjenokos road. Despite extremely vigorous artillery support and sophisticated equipment, the chetnik forces were unable to [word indistinct] the defenders in Zavidovici. On the Tesanj front, the aggressor conducted sporadic small arms provocations. He also used 120-mm mortars to shell the village of Kalosevic and antiaircraft weapons to fire on the village of Radus. A concentration of enemy armed forces in the region of Golo Brdo suggests that this is not the end."

A correspondent from the Bosna Operative Group Press Center reports that "this morning, Karadzic's forces

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have intensified their activities against the defenders in Livade and Bozici, using small arms and 82-mm mortars."

Brcko correspondent Hamid Deronjic reports that "the Serbian aggressor's artillery attacks and fresh attempts by subversive groups to infiltrate the area characterized the Brcko front last night. In the late afternoon of 29 September, the chetniks intensified provocations along the defense lines of the 100th Motorized Brigade. After fierce small arms fire, at (?1850), a strong enemy subversive group tried to infiltrate our positions at Vranovaca, but the attempt was thwarted. The aggressor's artillery was most active at the center of the central area of the front. Defenders' positions were targeted by [words indistinct] mortars supported by antiaircraft machine guns, antiaircraft guns, and rifle grenades. The aggressor shelled Vranovaca using an 80-mm mortar, and [words indistinct] targeted Boderiste. Antiaircraft machine guns and antiaircraft guns [words indistinct] pounded the defense lines at Djukici. There were no casualties on our side."

Gen. Delic, Officers Assess Army Combat Readiness

AU2909183894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 29 Sep 94

[Text] Two significant working meetings of the Headquarters of the Supreme Command of the Army have been held in Zenica and attended by representatives of the Defense Ministry and commanders of the corps of units accompanying the headquarters [pristabska jedinica], as well as independent units of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The meetings were chaired by Army General Rasim Delic, commander of the Headquarters of the Supreme Command. Here is a report by the 3d Corps Press Center:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] On the first day, heads of departments of the Supreme Command Headquarters, commanders of units accompanying the staff, and commanders of independent units submitted their reports. Brigadier Gen. Arif Pasalic attended the reporting on behalf of the Defense Ministry. This general Army meeting was chaired by Gen. Rasim Delic, who first briefed those present on the current military-political situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Gen. Delic particularly touched on the Presidency's decision to accept the postponement of the lifting of the arms embargo, which was viewed as another chance given to the international community to try to find a solution through political means. However, the assertion remains that the army is the only guarantee for peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina and for its survival.

On the second day of the meeting, corps commanders submitted reports informing the Supreme Command Headquarters about the military situation in the field, pointing out that the combat initiative on the front is resulting in constant successes by field units, as is the recent Army reorganization aimed at further strengthening it. At the end of these significant working meetings, we asked Gen. Rasim Delic for a brief statement. Among other things, Gen. Delic said the following:

[Delic] The aim of these reports was to observe the general organization and achievements of the Supreme Command Headquarters of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, that is, the tasks faced by the Supreme Command Headquarters and individual [word indistinct]. I can say that the reports and the discussions on them have yielded very significant results and guidelines and [word indistinct] creating conditions to help the tasks given to the Army of Bosnia- Herzegovina be performed even better and more efficiently in the future, of course, provided certain conditions are fulfilled. At the same time, this meeting and the submitted reports served as preparations for today's reporting, when commanders of corps and commanders of units accompanying the Supreme Command Headquarters reported on their units' combat readiness. The aim of this reporting was to identify the results achieved directly on the battlefield, to perceive conditions under which battle was carried out, and to draw from them certain lessons for future action. We are certainly satisfied with the results. We pointed out the problems and shortcomings that are subjective in this case, and regarding those [word indistinct] problems, we shall seek solution from the appropriate state organs and institutions.

In this respect, tasks that await the structures that attended the meeting have we been defined. One of the (?central) questions relates to certain changes in the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina that are going to be executed in the coming period with the consent of the [word indistinct] state structures and in accordance with material possibilities that such changes would ensure. All in all, we are satisfied with everything that has been achieved so far. The conditions for the trend that has been achieved so far to continue are certainly there, provided certain conditions are created that we (?have been mentioning) for some time already. These are, above all, connected to the issues of the social status of fighters and members of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina and certain logistical problems in the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, but these problem will be solved [words indistinct]

One should say here that the aim of these reports was also to [words indistinct] full combat readiness of our units, because for us, the war is still under way: This has been shown by the situation in the field, the overall political situation, and the attitude of the international community toward Bosnia-Herzegovina. Against such a situation, we must pit the full combat readiness of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina. In the (?further) [word indistinct] we may expect the aggressors to intensify their activities with a view to achieving strategic goals that they set at the beginning of the war, but have failed to realize.

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What is happening in the field shows that the Serbo-Montenegrin aggressor has not given up his goals. It is he who is the aggressor in our country and the paramilitary formations of the so-called Bosnian Serbs are only his helpers. Therefore, the tasks assigned to corps commanders relate to combat readiness and offering an adequate resistance, as has been done in the past, as well as the defense of free territories of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Normally, in contrast to the past, this defense is now flexible and we are going to offer an adequate response wherever we have an opportunity to do so. This response will be legitimate, as we are the only legal army on the territory of our state.

[Unidentified correspondent] In reply to our question on the prospects for the war in Bosnia and what can be expected in the future, Gen. Delic said the following:

[Delic] We have been legitimately defending the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina and legitimately liberating all territories in the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina. It is certain that the aggressors have not accomplished everything, but it is even more certain that they are never going to realize (?that) because of the Army we have and the orientation and morale we possess. [end recording]

Biography of 5th Corps Commander Dudakovic

94BA0408B Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 5 Sep 94 p 21

[Article by F.S.: "Character and Deeds: Atif Dudakovic, Commander of the 5th Corps of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina"]

[Text] **Date and Place of Birth**: 1954, Bosanska Dubica.

Qualifications: Officer in the former JNA [Yugoslav People's Army]. Graduated from the Ground Force Military Academy as a field artillery specialist. Served mainly in the 5th Army District in Croatia. Last JNA posting in Zadar in 1991.

What He Is Known For: Victor over Fikret "Babo" Abdic in the inter-Muslim war in Cazin Krajina. After 10 months of fighting, the 5th Corps of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina under his command defeated the National Defense of the self-proclaimed autonomous province of western Bosnia (APZB) and took Velika Kladusa.

How He Became Commander of the 5th Corps: After its formation he was deputy to Brigade Gen. Ramiz Drekovic. Not long after the conflict broke out with Abdic and his followers, Drekovic was removed: There were charges coming from Velika Kladusa that as a man who is not from that region, he was not in the least interested in the sufferings of the people, that he was surrounded by suspicious "mujahedin and people from Sandzak," that his objective was to shed as much blood as possible, to inflict as many casualties as possible, in order to win political points in Sarajevo.... Partly in order to refute those charges and partly because the war he waged against Babo was not really going as well as it might have, he was replaced by Dudakovic, who is familiar with both the people and the region. This is thought to be one of the best military-political moves Sarajevo has made. Dudakovic and Drekovic (now commander of the 4th Corps of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina) were a well-oiled team: Along with the necessary reorganization that followed, continuity was preserved in command of the 5th Corps.

How He Waged War: As for the conflict with the APZB, it is said that he used craftiness in waging war whenever he could and that he never failed to be mindful that there were Muslims on the other side. Gen. Rasim Delic, commander of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina, explained this in OSLOBODJENJE as the need to "take as many prisoners as possible and try to reeducate them." In battles with the Bosnian Serbs—which were particularly heavy on the Grabez Plateau and around Bosanska Krupa—Dudakovic is not known to have achieved any great success, nor defeats either. The Bosnian Serbs say he cleverly manipulated the French battalion of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces]. However, it is also felt that preserving the loyalty of the 5th Corps to the government in Sarajevo is a great success. Among other things, the Bosnian and Krajina Serbs were prevented from using the railroad and highway along the Una.

Why He Became Particularly Important: He is the first Muslim commander to win a clear victory, if only over his fellow Muslims. In his congratulatory message to the 5th Corps Gen. Delic said: "The success of the units of the 5th Corps places a great obligation on all of us in the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina to persist in the fight and on the road we have taken. For fighters on the Nisici Plateau, in Vijenac, Zmajevac, Greda, Vlasici, Husari, the Sava Valley, and other parts of our country, your success will provide motivation for us to go forward united and fully aware of the objective that is before us." Referring to Dudakovic in particular, Gen. Delic said: "Your posture, resolve, and the persistence with which you guided the 5th Corps in moments decisive to defense of the Bihac district and Bosnia and Herzegovina place you among the authentic heroes...." Dudakovic's victory has great importance both because of Abdic's collapse (it showed that projects like his have no future) and also because it instilled confidence in the strength of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina; OSLOBODJENJE observes that after this victory "a succession of others in the future" becomes visible. If for no other reason, because he has so far experienced the greatest official honors any commander of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina has ever received.

What His Critics Say: They say that it was not for nothing that the refugees from the Kladusa region left everything behind and set out into extreme uncertainty. Although there are no independent confirmations of war crimes by his soldiers, there is an unpleasant ring to the protest lodged with the 5th Corps by Peter Galbraith,

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U.S. ambassador in Zagreb, because of the looting of abandoned houses in the former APZB. This not only conflicts with Dudakovic's statement that he guarantees the personal safety and security of property of those who return, but it puts all the belligerents in Bosnia and Herzegovina on the same level, and does quite a bit to relativize the causes of the conflict.

What His Adherents Say: They say that of all the Muslim commanders Gen. Dudakovic is in the most difficult position. He has been waging war on two fronts: against the Bosnian Serbs, and, especially difficult, against his fellow Muslims—Abdic's followers. They emphasize that he has performed both tasks effectively and that the 5th Corps is probably the best in the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina. That is why they predict that if things continue to develop as they have up to now, Dudakovic has a brilliant career ahead of him.

Banja Luka Mayor on Situation in Srpska

94BA0498A Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 26 Aug 94 pp 18-19

[Interview with Predrag Radic, mayor of Banja Luka, by Branko Peric; date and place not given: "If Only They Cared For Us..."]

[Text] Banja Luka is the largest town and strongest economic center in the Srpska republic [RS]. By all appearances, one would say it is the capital, but it is not. The people of this krajina are not satisfied with the map offered by the Contact Group. They have been deprived of "pure areas," mines, bodies of water, roads, and railroads, and the corridor has been hazardously narrowed. And then the parent country, for whom it cleared the way with lives, turned its back on them. Predrag Radic (born 1941 in Bosanska Gradiska), president of Banja Luka Commune, who has a master's degree in economics, who lectures in the School of Economics ("Planning and Development Policy of the Business Firm"), and for whom you will hear only praise in Krajina, says: "The people of Krajina remind me of those from the Morava region: They have a high ignition point, but once ignited, they are hard to put out. Life has taught them to think it over well before they rise up. They knew that they would be smothered if they rose up prematurely. They are not mountaineers infected with Dinaric range, as the esteemed painter Mica Popovic has referred to them. Today is the first time the people of Krajina have risen up at the right moment. Had they not done so, much more of the civilian population would have suffered than in both of the last two wars." And he added, not without melancholy: "Our sole interest in this was to have a good and secure connection with the parent country. When I said in the Committee for the Nationalist Question of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts that for the fourth time in their history the people of Krajina are rushing into the embrace of the parent country and that I was afraid that they would be rejected for the fourth time Ljuba Tadic responded that that would not happen. At this point I would remind him of my words and his."

[Peric] What might be the consequences of the severing of Yugoslavia's economic and political ties with the RS?

[Radic] I am afraid what has happened to us will have lasting political and economic consequences. If it goes on for a long time, they may take away our national identity. Both krajinas are surrounded by those who have a manifold interest in this space. Left alone, they will have to favor someone. And that will be something that cannot be undone.

[Peric] Banja Luka is today the largest city in the RS. What are the prerequisites for its development, and what is life like today?

[Radic] Before the war Banja Luka was a center of university life, industry, and trade. Today it is a financial center because we have not allowed anyone to come in and put a lid on our banks once again. It has grown and developed thanks to the determination of the people of Krajina. We set aside funds for 15 years for the Clinical Hospital Center, which is the only one in Bosnia and Herzegovina. When I accepted these positions in 1991, I thought that I would be dealing with development of the city's basic functions. As it turned out, a time came when the basic function was survival and improvisation.

[Peric] Is there what is called "public order and security" in Banja Luka?

[Radic] A fire is burning around Banja Luka, and you must expect the tongues of flame to come in this direction from time to time. It is peaceful, intact, and of great interest to various kinds of crime, above all robbery. We are reproached because there have been murders. Listen, in peaceful Belgrade, where there are whole brigades of police, the murders are more awful than here. And more of them. Our police are more effective than the police in Belgrade, since we have a high percentage of murders solved. But I talk about that with the people from security every Monday. We recently had the painful and horrible murder of a Jewish family, the Batageljs. These elderly people had not done anything to anyone except to arouse suspicion that they had some wealth. I came back from Belgrade, and in Jasenovac Klara Mandic asked me in a whisper whether I had heard about the murder of the Batagelj family. I immediately called my own people and the people in Pale and called for the criminal to be found, wherever he might be hiding. And the killers were discovered in record time.

[Peric] What communication does Krajina have with the world? Do you have visits from international organizations and journalists?

[Radic] All communications have been entirely severed in the last month and a half. At one time journalists came here from the well-known world agencies and newspapers: from Reuters and the BBC to THE NEW YORK TIMES and THE WASHINGTON POST.... Suddenly we ceased to be of interest. When I received them, I told

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them at the end of the interview, "Don't believe anything I have old you. Say what you want to see, and then go see for yourselves." I always made it possible for them to see what they asked to see. However, they would see, they would leave, and they would write something altogether different. Roy Gutman of NEWDAY, and Chuck Sudetic of THE NEW YORK TIMES have been particularly unobjective. They have provided the news according to some program, according to prescription, on the principle of "someone told me" and with the purpose of it being fitted into some set pattern.

[Peric] Mosques have been demolished even in Banja Luka. Certainly they often ask you about that?

[Radic] I tell them they have come to the wrong place. That is not the business of the mayor, but of the police and investigating agencies. They should have their say. I still do not have information about that. And then I ask them whether they knew who demolished Zitomislic, the cathedral in Mostar, the cathedral and Bishop's Palace in Karlovac, or the 96 Orthodox churches in Slavonia.

[Peric] What are relations like with the Muslims and Croats?

[Radic] The Mufti came by the other day, and that was our first meeting since the mosques were demolished. I had rather intensive cooperation with Bishop Komarica until his recent statement in Washington. He referred to us there as a fascistoid milieu. The entire world carried that. He called our government fascistoid, and he fails to see the same fascistoid characteristic in Zagreb. He does not see that the two things are connected. About 20,000 of the 130,000 Serbs in Zagreb are still there. Of the 30,000 Serbs in Mostar, about 200 are there today! A man with his education, and he is a doctor of science, should have been able to draw certain parallels. It is not possible for Msgr. Komarica not to have seen the 45,000 Serbs who came to Banja Luka from Croatia. All the schools and gymnasiums were full. Had he spoken out at that time, I would understand him today. He called me after Christmas and said: "Mr. Mayor, the believers noticed that you did not wish them a Merry Christmas." "The hand of Providence, Msgr. Bishop," I told him. Had I done that, your church would have been blown up. "But why, for God's sake," he asked. "Because," I said, "you demolished the Bishop's Palace in Karlovac on Christmas Eve just before this Christmas." "Not us," he said. "Oh, yes, it was done by those people up there, and why did you not speak out? My Jovan now has nowhere to go but to Trieste, and you sit here and play the priest and say that this here is fascistoid."

[Peric] How many Muslims and Croats have left Banja Luka?

[Radic] About 50 percent of them have left. According to the last census, there were 29,033 Croats and 28,550 Muslims in the city. More Muslims than Croats have left. Recently figures were designedly presented that 500,000 Muslims and Croats have left Krajina. That is a notorious falsehood. The entire Krajina region had 229,000 Muslims and 86,000 Croats. How could 500,000 of them have left, when in all there were 315,000?! The political basis is being deliberately laid for the return to Krajina of those who never left this region.

[Peric] Are you satisfied with the representation of Krajina personnel in the republic government?

[Radic] No, I'm not. We have very few of our people in the government. I won't go into explanations, but I know that people from Banja Luka who would be competent are not ready to go up and work under conditions which are far from those under which they work here. We are unable to convince the top republic leadership that the government ought to be brought together at a place where proper conditions exist. It need not be Banja Luka, let it be Bijeljina. The agriculture minister cannot do his job unless in the course of a day he bumps into the finance minister, the minister for industry, several times.... That is a precondition for effective work. It gives me "the itch" when I have to go looking for some minister. I do not know whether to look for him in Pale, or in Bijeljina, or up to now at the "Bosanka" in Belgrade.

[Peric] Have you sought explanations?

[Radic] When I put that question, they called me a secessionist. I can understand that there has to be a Presidency and Supreme Command, but they cannot understand that there must also be a government. Up there they do not have the personnel, nor the equipment, nor the specialists they might consult with.

[Peric] There are frequent stories about various currents in bodies and agencies of the RS. Are they true?

[Radic] There is less regionalism on the Krajina side than anywhere else. This can be seen from personnel they do not have there. But then they constantly attack Krajina for secessionism and breaking up the unity. This originates right with those up there, since in that way they represent themselves as the cohesive factor in the RS. Pin labels and wipe them out. I know that our regional committee of the SDS [Serbian Democratic Party] called for the officeholders to elect the future prime minister from here, along with a certain number of posts in the government. As you know, that demand was not adopted.

[Peric] What do you have against the central government?

[Radic] First of all, the lack of differentiation of the executive and legislative branches. In our case they are so intertwined that the deputy caucus has become the only pool for personnel. We have a ridiculous situation in which a deputy is at the same time a minister. They say that his deputy position is frozen. Well, if it is frozen, then let his constituency send someone else to sit in the Assembly. I now see in material for the Main Committee of the SDS that they are insisting on strict separation of

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the legislative and executive branches. They are even in favor of preventing someone with a private business from holding a top-level office. Today we have such people. Even some who have been tempted to take advantage of that.

[Peric] What is your assessment of the influence of the political parties on the functioning of the state?

[Radic] Our political system is being built by the same people who held political or executive posts in the previous regime. Do we really think that they have been issued new brains? Why, they are still thinking in analytical terms, not creatively. When we carefully analyze the political documents of this government, we see once again that they serve what is left of the previous system. I am looking at the draft of the SDS bylaws. The deputy caucus must not be in it. It has its legislative function and must not be allowed to operate in a purely political fashion. I utterly fail to convince my deputies that they are deputies of the people, that they were elected by the people, and sent to the parliament to "parley" on their behalf. [missing text in original]

[Peric] [missing text] Are you afraid of another "September"?

[Radic] I just happened to be in Banja Luka at the time. I walked to work. They sent me back twice, but I got through at the third place I tried. I immediately went uninvited to the Culture Center and found out there what had happened. I was with them at 2300, with no right to make a telephone call, nor to talk.... Only in the evening did I realize that the nucleus was not here and that they were being manipulated from somewhere else. From where I do not know even today. I will not get into the guessing game. I am waiting for the State Commission to present its report. It will soon be a year, and there has been no report. One thing is certain, Banja Luka has nothing to do with that, and this is not a Banja Luka case.

[Peric] How do you explain the fact that state commissions have not cleared up a single scandal? Doesn't that make the government look bad?

[Radic] I said that myself the other day: We have four septic tanks instead of one. They are open and they stink. They were not exposed by someone who was malicious, but this was stated in the Assembly. Had we come down hard on the first case, we would have discouraged those who did other things. Now we have a population that mistrusts everyone in power. Everyone can have good reason to say, You are all alike. How am I to prove to my people here that I have nothing to do with that? They will ask me How come, when you are in power? What does he know about the difference between the legislative and executive branches! I told those people in Pale: God is unattainable; you are up on high, and I am down below where they can get to me. Everything bad blows up in my face, since I am within reach.

[Peric] How do you see yourself in that maelstrom?

[Radic] This is a time of froth. I swallow only foam and air, never get to the beer. I get only the smell of it. I and my friends jumped into rising waters. Some of them became afraid that the current would carry them away when they saw that the torrent was rolling logs and tumbling boulders and corpses and other things you know about. First they swam to shore, and now they are shouting: Look at what is being carried by the water. I have continued swimming and I am saving everything that can be saved.

[Peric] What do you fear today? Why are you uneasy?

[Radic] I am afraid the people will suffer a moral downfall. I would not want to live in a state in which the Serb thinks that everything is permitted him. It seems to me that the church ought to do much more for moral purification of the people. I am uneasy because of these recent political events among us. I am recalling more and more frequently my late father's words when I set off to the university in Belgrade. He told me: Son, don't be disappointed. If they cared for us as much as we care for them, there would be no end to it.

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Tudjman Addresses UN General Assembly

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[Address by President Tudjman to UN General Assembly in New York—live]

[Text] Mr. President, Mr. Secretary General, esteemed ladies and gentlemen delegates:

It is my particular honor and pleasure to address the United Nations General Assembly at the beginning of its 49th session. I hope that we will agree that each statesman's address to the United Nations General Assembly is a great moment for the moral and political examination of one's own decisionmaking and responsibility before the international public. This applies equally to representatives of the eminent founder-countries and to us, representatives of the new democracies.

This occasion gives us an opportunity to present our views on the problems facing our countries, but also on all other issues that are important for the world organization. At the same time this is an opportunity for us to compare with great responsibility the high ideals built into the UN Charter with the difficult and convoluted ways of how they square up with reality in daily political life. The noble, fundamental UN principles on the rights and duties of individuals, nations, and states are mostly in line with the general principles built into all world religions and philosophies, even with fundamental laws of certain states.

However, we are still in the process of arduously searching for a general agreement on a new and fair international order that would unite and coordinate the high goals of the UN Charter and humanistic ideals with the visions of the new world order and special ideals and interests of individual states. Many countries, like my Croatia, which have found themselves in the straits of the disintegration of one and the creation of another regional international order, are unfortunately paying the highest human, material, and political price to the imperfect nature of the world in which we live.

Addressing the General Assembly in the capacity of head of the Croatian state and the top representative of the Croatian people, I can state with pleasure that Croatia's international position has been strengthened and improved, despite all the problems in the activities of the international community. In only a few years since it gained independence and international recognition, Croatia has become a fully-fledged player in the international arena, strengthening its position in the international community and developing a network of bilateral relations with almost all countries in the world and with all international institutions. Even more, Croatia has become a key factor in the establishment of the new regional order in southeastern Europe, an appreciated and important partner of the big powers and the whole of the international community in the resolution of the convoluted and the currently most serious international crisis in that part of the world—in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The arduous experience of the Croatian people throughout its entire history—particularly in the last years of the renewal of Croatian statehood—can teach us that none of the high principles from the UN Charter and international law are automatically attainable, even less so guaranteed, if the people does not have a resolve to realize it, if it is not ready for huge sacrifices to achieve its own right to live in freedom, if, with its strength and its decisions it does not succeed in matching up its interests with the important interests of the international community.

Irrespective of the inalienable right of the Croatian people—which is one of the oldest nations in Europe—to self- determination and the renewal of its own state, irrespective of the obvious barbaric aggression designed to achieve territorial conquest, the genocidal eviction of the population and the destruction of the most valuable monuments of the Croatian people such as Vukovar and Dubrovnik, Croats would have never won the right to self-determination and to their state, freedom and independence, had they not been ready to make human and material sacrifices to realize these goals, had they not displayed a firm state-building will with which they resolutely imposed themselves as a player in the international arena, at the same time displaying readiness to be a constructive player in the creation of the new international order in place of the untenable and crumbling old system.

Mr. President, it is the duty of us all—particularly this top world body—to take more resolute and effective steps to find a way of stopping the vicious circle of suffering that war inflicts on people and nations. Our moral and political duty, as the top representatives of our states and countries is to create an international order and mechanisms that can effectively protect the rights of every nation or group, particularly small and new states. Such a mechanism of the top world organization would energetically fight and punish every instance of the destruction of the fundamental principles of international law. Naturally, this includes the task of protecting the possibility of achieving these rights and generally accepted principles in a democratic way, without every right having to be won in the hardest way, with the blood of innocent people, because in that way dormant hatred, prejudice, and vindictiveness are planted in the collective memory and always trigger new divisions and even destructive internal and regional crises.

This applies equally to the crises on the territory of former Yugoslavia, Rwanda, Somalia, the Caucasus, the Middle East, in South Africa, south Asia, or South America. The crisis on the territory of former Yugoslavia shows how much the abuse of historical myths of collective guilt or historic injustice, myths about the conspiracy of the whole world against one nation, and the

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presentation of a Messianic mission of a certain nation in order to justify a policy of conquest, inflicts huge damage, not only on those affected by such an imperialistic policy, but also on the people that becomes a victim of its own delusions and driving forces that are unacceptable and damaging for the international community.

Following the disintegration of the bloc-based division of the world and the disintegration of many multiethnic states, we are facing the task of building a new international order. All our experience hitherto shows that the path to it is very difficult. For success we need, above all, a mechanism for diplomatic and political negotiations, for confidence-building and for patiently overcoming real problems caused by objectively different interests.

In the case of the obvious futility of political efforts the United Nations must have a more effective mechanism for achieving or imposing solutions that are in the interests of peace and the stability of the international order. But in both cases it must not be to the detriment of the fundamental principles on which this organization is based in the name of real policy and the balance of interests and forces.

In this one should bear in mind that the mechanism for the establishment and defense of the new international order must not be in the service of the joint interests of the big powers, but must reflect their greatest responsibility in the resolution of regional crises, and at the same time it must be formed in such a way so that through its entire set-up it strengthens the security and development of small or threatened members of the international community, which form the bigger part of mankind.

The United Nations must be empowered to guarantee to all its members more or less the same conditions for freedom, progress, and equality pertaining to an international order. After the fall of communism and the end of the bipolar division of the world, hopes for a more just and safer world have increased. However, we should be aware of the fact that the dissolution of the bloc-based communist system and multinational states inevitably had temporary destabilizing effects on the international order. We should note that the setting up of sovereign national states created prevalently positive preconditions for a new international order, but in some instances—where nationalism developed chauvinist and extremist tendencies, and even expansionist aggressions—it had negative effects.

These historic developments teach us that the efforts by small nations to create their own statehood, that is, achieve their political, cultural, and economic integrity, and establish themselves in the international order, have made the largest contribution to the fall of communist totalitarianism and the democratization of many countries. Also, without such democratization of internal political systems, there can be no full democratization of international relations.

The safety of new small states is nowadays the key to stability in any region, and should be the basis of new collective security systems. Only complete security and equality can ensure that they become equal factors in the functional integration of civilizations in certain areas and in the international order as a whole. The nations of small countries will gladly accept the integration of civilizations if it does not stamp out their state, cultural, and economic individuality. It is only in this way—through secured national individuality in the integration of civilizations—that a healthy basis for functional multilateralism in a new world order can be created.

Failing this, the myths and prejudices of the past will continue to be used in the future as the basis for new clashes, even between civilizations. It is clear from what is going on in the territory of the former Yugoslavia what alarming proportions differences between civilizations can acquire. The local aggression there is threatening to become a conflict between three civilizational and religious blocs unless the war crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina is resolutely ended.

Croatia has always advocated political solutions by accepting the normalization of relations with all its neighbors, including those whose victims in aggression we were, in order not only to create—on an equal basis—preconditions for a new international order, but also to bring about a fruitful interaction of different civilizations found there.

Looking at the situation in the world today, we are also in favor of a fundamental reform of the setup of the United Nations in order for it to become more influential and effective in solving humanity's burning problems. The problems of unequal development, the growth in population, the planet's ecological balance, human and collective rights, the functional integration of the world, and especially the hotbeds of crises and wars demand a more effective structure for the supreme international organization. We need a structure that might play a more effective role in the introduction of the same norms and obligations for all countries, and which would have the right to interfere in countries' internal affairs on behalf of the world organization in crises and issues crucial for the development of humankind and life on our planet. The international community should have such multilateral mechanisms in the framework of the United Nations that would be more effective in dealing with the urgent challenges facing humankind in the spheres of crises, development, environment, and technology.

At the same time, we should consider the role of the UN General Assembly, whose activity must have credibility; at the same time it cannot assume the role of the world's parliament at the expense of the sovereignty of its member states. Experience shows us that there needs to be a clearer division of authority between the General Assembly, the Security Council, and the Economic and Social Council. Regional clashes have nowadays become the international community's main problem, not only because of the threat they pose to international peace,

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but also because they are causing horrendous human disasters such as the ones in Rwanda, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, or Somalia. They also block regional development processes and cause ecological damage and destruction of natural and cultural assets in entire areas, which are difficult to repair.

Such a situation inevitably demands reform of the UN Security Council. A new international order can no longer be based on the coalition of the Second World War winners or on the super-powers' nuclear club. It must reflect new democratic, economic, and regional reality that necessarily leads to permanent membership in the Security Council and increased global responsibility of countries such as Germany and Japan, and also of some regional representatives of the so-called Third World. However, the reform of the Security Council should avoid solutions that would, by increasing the number of member states, hamper the process of decisionmaking and render the council ineffective. The effectiveness and credibility of the Security Council in solving the main problems of international security—primarily clashes leading to wars—should be considerably increased. This could be achieved primarily by reducing the discrepancy between the content of UN Security Council resolutions and the possibility of their implementation.

All the world's countries, and particularly the greatest powers that are additionally responsible in such a system, must provide the UN Security Council on a permanent basis with adequate diplomatic, economic, and military instruments, which will be able to implement its decisions. The world organization's peace mediation must evolve from the static pattern of freezing conflicts and preventing them from spreading into a mechanism capable of defusing a crisis at an early enough stage of its development and alleviate its consequences. In some cases the UN Security Council's decisions alone will suffice in defusing and solving a crisis, but in some cases a demonstration of resolve will be needed. The international community must develop in a more systematic way its mechanism of punishing those countries that do not accept or violate decisions made by the UN Security Council.

There must be even more efficiency in enforcing an aggressor's international political or economic isolation while at the same time those neighboring countries that are indirectly damaged by such isolation should receive compensation. Sanctions are becoming an instrument that is being used with increased frequency whenever there is no political consensus or no willingness to use tougher means. But they, too, can bring about a desired result only if they are applied consistently in the framework of systematic pressure.

The democratization of the international order implies greater attention to protection of human rights, including punishing violations of humanitarian and warfare law. Croatia supported the establishment of the war crimes tribunal for the area of the former Yugoslavia. Croatia also favors the establishment of a permanent international institution that would deal with extremely severe violations of humanitarian law, regardless of where they take place; in Rwanda, Somalia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, or Haiti.

Still, the international community must devise a way of bringing to justice perpetrators of crimes from those aggressor countries that refuse to cooperate with the tribunal. Croatia suggests that a permanent contingent of peace forces be secured to meet the UN Security Council's fast-intervention needs by reaching agreement with a certain number of countries on placing special military formations at the UN Security Council's disposal. We believe that in so doing we can preempt the escalation of many regional crises, or else defuse them more rapidly.

Such international forces must be given greater authority in using force, not only in self-defense but also in resolutely implementing every decision made by the UN Security Council—decisions, ranging from those relating to humanitarian goals to decisions on disarmament and demilitarization. The makeup of these peace forces must be such as to enable their national contingents to implement decisions of the UN Security Council rather than the particular policies of their respective countries.

An increasing number of regional crises provides the United Nations with an increasing number of tasks, which the Security Council cannot carry out successfully with its limited resources. This suggests the need for the Security Council to assign the implementation of its resolutions to regional organizations as well. This raises the need for redefining and strengthening the role of regional organizations within the collective security system. Each flashpoint should be approached with an awareness of all its specific features while realistically estimating the potential capacity of regional systems in the implementation of Security Council decisions. The kind of solutions we aspire to in the regional crisis in the area of the former Yugoslavia as well as elsewhere must be based on the fundamental principles of international law, thus being oriented to a just and lasting solution—which in order to be acceptable—implies compromise on details but not on major issues.

Croatia is greatly encouraged by the increasingly successful peace efforts in the Middle East, which confirm that the patience and wisdom displayed by both Israeli and Arab sides have yielded results. We firmly believe that similar positive efforts are possible in southeast Europe and in the Balkans if the great powers approach the problem with the necessary united support and determination.

Croatia welcomes the peaceful transition of power in South Africa after decades of internal and regional instability. South Africa is the best proof that there is no alternative to the principle of equality of all citizens of a state. We also welcome the international community's involvement in Rwanda, which unfortunately failed to

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prevent a human catastrophe of indescribable proportions, but it at least curbed the spiral of death and anarchy. We support the current efforts to stabilize the situation in Rwanda by preventing the resurgence or spreading of clashes.

The international community's unity in finally ending the agony in Haiti and establishing a democratic system is encouraging. We also welcome the successful process of democratization and stabilization in the whole of Latin and Central America. Croatia is closely following the development of the functional regional integration in North America as well as the strengthening—despite certain differences in approach—of integrational trends in Europe and the rapprochement between the two largest countries in Eurasia and Asia—Russia and China. We also welcome Japan's constructive role in the Pacific area and in the Far East.

In the framework of these global developments, where the major world powers are not aiming for mutual destruction but positive competition and cooperation, Croatia, as a small country, sees its place first of all in the West European system of economy, civilization, and security in order to have a guarantee for its independence, security, and progress. Croatia believes it can achieve its welfare and stability through fully fledged membership in European integrational organizations. Croatia is prepared to bear with responsibility its share of the burden in the development of the new international order and to form a strong link in the integrational chain of a new Europe.

Mr. President, in the very short period since gaining independence, Croatia has become a mature and responsible entity in the international community. It has already become a buttress of future stability and cooperation in the part of southeastern Europe that has always been linked with the traditional turmoil in the Balkans. It was in good faith that Croatia accepted international mediation and UN peace forces on its territory in order to stop the war and find a political solution, which would preserve its territorial integrity and ensure the observance of national minority rights within its borders. Croatia has accepted the well-meaning advice on the constitutional position of the Serb ethnic community in line with the highest international standards and conventions on national minority rights, and it has incorporated this into its constitutional law.

Croatia has borne the heaviest brunt of the Bosnian crisis and the human catastrophe wrought by the aggression in that country. Croatia has provided a home or temporary accommodation for hundreds of thousands of refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina. We sustained this effort even during the Croat-Muslim conflicts that occurred as a result of Serb aggression when the victims of the aggression sought space for their survival. We encouraged proposals for an agreement on a federation between the Croats and Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina and their confederal alliance with Croatia, which finally resulted in the signing of the Washington agreement. We spared no effort to end the senseless war and renew cooperation between the Muslims and Croats, who were—due to the international community's lack of determination—forced to launch a desperate struggle for the remnants of living space in Bosnia left after the barbarous Serb aggression.

In circumstances arising from its intricate ethnic and historical heritage, Croatia has shown the highest degree of cooperation in the search for a peaceful political solution to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, believing, despite all negative experience, in the final victory of the principles of international law and in the necessity to normalize relations between the newly emerged states.

However, our readiness to cooperate and our patience have certain limits. Split into two by the occupation of one quarter of its territory, threatened continuously by the terrorism of outlaws, and under the burden of social pressure imposed by displaced persons and the war-exhausted economy, Croatia cannot endlessly agree to fruitless compromises because the continuation of the crisis threatens the existence of the state and the lives of its citizens, and prevents the reconstruction of the war-ravaged economy.

We believe that it is in the interests of the international community to give Croatia more resolute and consistent help to allow it to successfully play a constructive role in resolving the crisis. Croatia is, and wants to be in future too, a mainstay of the new international order and a bridge of cooperation between newly created states on the bases of mutual recognition.

The indecision and aimless maneuvering of the international community, in circumstances characterized by the presence of militancy in certain circles of the parties in the conflict, is threatening to push Croatia into a new military conflict, which may be even worse than the previous one in terms of its scope, depth, and consequences.

The international community should not leave Croatia without a choice, in a position where it would be forced on its own to resort to all means in order to defend its sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the right of its citizens—displaced persons—to return to the occupied areas.

We have always been aware that this complex crisis could not be resolved without a consensus in the international community, and without a division of responsibility and the agreed participation of the great powers. This is why, as in earlier attempts to find a peaceful solution, we were the first to welcome the efforts of the contact group to find an acceptable solution. Croatia is prepared to continue its high degree of cooperation and partnership with the international community, provided solutions for Bosnia-Herzegovina and the occupied Croatian areas are not sought at its expense.

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Both crises—the one in Croatia and the other in Bosnia-Herzegovina—have the same source—Serb aggression. Because of this, and in view of the increasingly strong cooperation between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, a solution should be sought in the form of a so-called package. Since the sanctions imposed by the international community have forced Belgrade to accept the proposal to end the war, and the isolation of the Bosnian Serbs who oppose it, Belgrade as well as the Bosnian Serbs should also be made to desist from supporting the Croatian Serbs who reject the reintegration of occupied Croatian areas and also brazenly oppose the implementation of all Security Council resolutions.

In terms of its consequences, the 1991 arms embargo was first and foremost aimed against the victims of Serb aggression. It was accepted at a time when the world was deceived into adopting the false policy of saving the former Yugoslavia, not seeing that the post-Tito crisis came about as a result of the attempt to impose Serb hegemony on all the non-Serb peoples in this artificial and communist state.

Our conditional restraint as regards the lifting of the embargo is motivated at present exclusively by initiatives focused on achieving, after all, a peaceful solution in the coming weeks or months. Croatia does not want to be drawn into a new war against its will, but it will be forced to accept it, in cooperation with the other victims of Serb aggression, if the international community fails to achieve a peaceful solution that would put an end to the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina as well as bring about the reintegration of occupied Croatian areas.

Croatia welcomes Belgrade's announced readiness to isolate the Bosnian Serbs in their suicidal war option, but expects Belgrade to do the same with regard to the insurgent Serbs in Croatia. Croatia demands that the lifting of sanctions against Serbia—Yugoslavia—should also be linked to the cessation of the occupation of Croatian areas, i.e. their reintegration into Croatia's constitutional and legal system.

Moreover, the lifting of sanctions can be considered only after we have seen that the announced isolation is truly enforced and after this has been verified by credible control mechanisms. In order to promote positive trends, we also understand to a certain extent the partial, symbolic suspension of sanctions in order to encourage those currents in Serbia that are now expressing their commitment to peace.

Nevertheless, Croatia will continue to insist that the lifting of the main sanctions against Belgrade, particularly those relating to its being fully released from international economic and all other isolation, be linked to the solution of the occupied Croatian areas.

Croatia has shown a great deal of patience in its dialogue with insurgent Serbs, but now, after three years of occupation, it demands from the international community a redefinition of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] mandate, which will provide for the implementation of Security Council Resolutions 769 and 871, and force the Serb side to accept gradual normalization and reintegration pursuant to the adopted peace plan.

We understand that after every conflict it is necessary for both sides to invest much time and effort in order to restore and strengthen mutual trust. It is also clear to us that there can be no long-term stability and progress in Croatia without guaranteed human and ethnic rights for the Serb and other minority groups. We guaranteed such rights to them in a special constitutional law enacted three years ago, but we urge the international community to create conditions for the implementation of this constitutional law in accordance with Security Council resolutions.

We have also recently taken the decision to speed up the establishment of the human rights tribunal, and we are prepared to accept international supervision of compliance with human and ethnic rights. However, the leaders of the Serb insurgents, and their patrons in Belgrade, should desist from their idea of a greater Serbia and accept the reintegration of occupied Croatian areas on such foundations, for their own benefit and for the benefit of the entire community.

We are prepared to accept gradual reintegration through the opening of communications, the return of people, the reconstruction of destroyed towns and villages, and the provision of social welfare and legal protection. The democratic government of Croatia is prepared to offer—while urging the resolution of the fundamental political issue, the restoration of the sovereignty of the Croatian state over occupied areas—genuine compliance with all guarantees relating to the rights of the Serb ethnic community.

In keeping with its peaceful policy, Croatia is also prepared to normalize relations between Belgrade and Zagreb. To this end we will accept any meeting leading to the recognition of the Republic of Croatia by Belgrade within its internationally recognized borders, which would make the message to the insurgent Serbs about the necessity of gradual reintegration quite unambiguous.

That is the reason why we have also raised the problem of parts of the Republic of Croatia occupied by Yugoslavia before the General Assembly, because there is indisputable evidence of the comprehensive integration—in military, judicial, customs, and monetary terms—of occupied Croatian areas into the economic and legal system of Serbia, or the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia].

We thank the vast majority of General Assembly members who have already expressed their support to us on this. If, in the meantime, Belgrade were to be prepared to recognize the Croatian state and really support reintegration and normalization, we would be happy not having to further burden the General Assembly with this question. We also express our thanks to the General

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Assembly for its support for the postwar reconstruction of Croatia, and we expect your further understanding in this regard.

In particular, we would like to emphasize that any normalization of relations—diplomatic, political, and economic—on an equal footing between the Republic of Croatia and Yugoslavia will not affect the partnership and cooperation between the Croats and the Muslims in the realization of the Washington agreements on the Croat-Muslim Federation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and its confederation with Croatia.

No peace in the Balkans is possible without the establishment of a balance of forces, nor does the future of any people lie in endless reciprocal military exhaustion and in the blocking of development throughout the region.

So we genuinely endorse the normalization of Croat-Serb relations, and also the implementation of the Washington agreements, which are, in our view, not only a tactical maneuver by the victims of Serb aggression but also a development creating the preconditions for ensuring full equality for the Croats as a numerically smaller constituent people in Bosnia-Herzegovina. We see in this a pledge of future regional stability and balance of forces.

The confederal link between the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation and the Republic of Croatia provides the foundations for sustaining the sound political and economic relations indicated by history, the geographical link and geopolitical realities. By agreeing to a confederal relation, Croatia is also prepared—with the assistance primarily of Western countries—to assume its share of the responsibility for curbing the smoldering extremist national and religious trends on all sides, the spread of which could jeopardize stabilization not only in this part of southeastern Europe but also beyond.

Croatia also attaches importance to the strengthening and realization of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, and its confederation with Croatia, the progress of which depends alike on mutual relations and on actions taken by the international community in the coming months. This strengthening of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation should also bring about the establishment of a political and economic bridge with the Islamic world. We have already established close cooperation with Islamic countries that share our viewpoint, such as, for example, Turkey, Jordan and others.

Mr. President, decisive weeks and months lie ahead of us during which we must campaign for a peaceful solution to the serious crisis in the area of the former Yugoslavia. The responsibility of all of us—not only the conflicting parties but above all the main players in the international community—is enormous at this point in time. I refer not only to the decision on the future of UNPROFOR's mandate in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, but to whether the contact group will succeed in sustaining a united, operative basis for finding solutions. If it fails to do so, it will be allowing everything to slide into a fresh nightmare of war. The efforts of the international community to construct a new international order are today nowhere more overtly being put to the test than in the case of the elimination of the consequences of the aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia.

We can finally resolve this crisis if each of us bears our share of the responsibility. Hatred must be replaced by the happy faces of children in a reconstructed Croatian Vukovar, and the restored magnificence of a Dubrovnik dating back to the Middle Ages, and in peaceful coexistence in long-suffering and war-torn Sarajevo and Mostar. In order to achieve this, the catastrophic wartime and political crisis must be overcome by our joint efforts and the vision of a new international order in this part of the world in the interests of the whole world organization of the United Nations. Thank you, Mr. President. [applause]

Comments on Success of Session

LD2909162294 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 29 Sep 94

[Text] Shortly before 1300, Republic of Croatia President Franjo Tudjman returned from from New York, where he addressed the deputies at the 49th regular session of the UN General Assembly. Assembly President Nedjeljko Mihanovic, Deputy Prime Minister Borislav Skegro, Chamber of Counties President Katica Ivanisevic, Corps General Janko Bobetko, and others welcomed President Tudjman at the airport.

President Tudjman made the following statement:

[Begin Tudjman recording] I think we can conclude that the Croatian delegation's visit to the UN General Assembly session this year was very successful. We went to the assembly to present the Croatian views on the most topical issues for Croatia, and also our views on international problems. In addition to my speech in the General Assembly, we also held talks in the Security Council, where I made an introductory speech. We discussed the problems of the occupied areas in Croatia.

In addition to these very important talks in the Security Council, during which the highest UN body confirmed that the United Nations was united in its support for Croatia's justified claims that the occupied areas are a constituent part of Croatia's territorial sovereignty and that the United Nations believes they have to be returned, we also held talks with the most influential statesmen.

I should primarily mention the talks with U.S. President Clinton. The U.S. delegation comprised the U.S. Government's highest-ranking officials. I also held talks with the vice president of China and with all the ministers represented in the contact group—that is, German Chancellor Kinkel, Great Britain's Foreign Minister Hurd, French Minister Juppe—about problems connected with

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the UN Protected Areas. The talks with the U.S. delegation were, of course, the most important. They were also the longest, and passed in the most cordial atmosphere. During the talks we reached a full accord between President Clinton's and Croatia's views, just as we did during the talks with all other collocutors.

Representatives of all most important international players are appealing to Croatia to refrain from military operations, and they said that on its behalf the United Nations will do everything to reintegrate the occupied areas that are under the protection of the peace forces into Croatia's constitutional and legal system by peaceful means.

Our demands for a change in the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] mandate, based on our parliament's resolution and the opinion expressed by the Chamber of Counties and the Chamber of Deputies, are now being discussed. I pointed out to all my collocutors that this is a unanimous opinion held not only by the refugees but also by the whole of the Croatian public, and that Croatia can no longer tolerate UNPROFOR being a facade behind which Serb occupation of the Croatian areas continues.

Of course, the resolution to be adopted by the Security Council has to reflect the financial and other technical scope of the United Nations to implement these agreed viewpoints on the need to reintegrate the occupied areas. But we can be sure that this new resolution, with the agreed views which we reached with the world's most important players—President Clinton and all the states in the contact group—will be the basis for speeding up a political solution to this our most important problem, and of course for the new possibilities [words indistinct] those needs.

Apart from the talks I have just mentioned I also held talks, lengthy talks, with the president of Latvia, the president of Armenia, and of course with Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina; I also had brief meetings and talks with President Yeltsin and the presidents of Argentina, Romania, and others. In this context, Mate Granic, Croatian foreign minister and deputy prime minister, also had separate talks over the past few days, and it should be mentioned, in particular, that Defense Minister Susak—apart from taking part in these talks—was also in Washington, where he signed an agreement on cooperation with a professional research association that has as its members the most prominent military officials and former commanders of all U.S. forces, etc.—something also of great interest in terms of our cooperation in this area with our U.S. friends.

Overall we can be satisfied with the reception of our views and standpoints, and with the understanding of everyone. No one, either in the Security Council [pauses]... After my speech the first to speak was Mrs. Albright, the U.S. representative and U.S. Government member, and then others spoke—both representatives of European and Asian countries, and of Russia—and all stressed the just nature of Croatia's demands, as they did in bilateral talks.

So, we can be very satisfied with Croatia's position, with the full understanding of Croatia's demands for the reintegration of the occupied areas, and also with the appeal [words indistinct] make sure that that this is linked with the problem, the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis, which in its own way supersedes a crisis on the territory of the former Yugoslavia and becomes a European and world problem.

In this context our displaced persons, the public, and the entire Croatian nation can be sure that we will reintegrate these areas into Croatia and that the world will consider Croatia to be an important factor in ending the crisis on the territory of the former Yugoslavia and in establishing a new international order. [end recording]

Talks With Izetbegovic, Butrus-Ghali

LD2909205694 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 29 Sep 94

[Dispatch by correspondent Jozo Curic from New York; passages contained within quotation marks are recorded]

[Excerpt] [Curic] In his talks last night President Tudjman explained to UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali the Croatian parliament's decisions on the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] mandate. The president emphasized the importance of the legitimate demands raised by refugees, demanding firm resolve from the Contact Group and the UN Security Council regarding the reintegration of the occupied territory in Croatia's legal system. Croatia continues to support a peaceful resolution to the crisis, but there is a limit to its patience. The president drew attention to a dangerous scenario, whereby the status quo would continue, something that the people and the government of Croatia regard as unacceptable, the Croatian president said. In all his meetings the Croatian president demanded urgent diplomatic action by the Contact Group and changes in the UNPROFOR mandate.

He also gave a news conference at the UN Club of Correspondents:

[Tudjman] "In the UN secretary general's report to the UN Security Council it is said that the Serb rebels are the reason why the UN Security Council's resolutions and the Vance plan could not be implemented. Hence, Croatia demands these be implemented."

[Curic] The difficult question of lifting the arms embargo was one of the important issues at the talks. Croatia is aware of the risks related to arms imports. The Croatian delegation's concern was shared by President Clinton's Government. In my talks with President Clinton and the member countries of the UN Security Council, President Tudjman says, we explained that Croatia, together with

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the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina should be included in the resolution on the possible lifting of the arms embargo.

Let us note that in New York Presidents Izetbegovic and Tudjman had tete-a-tete talks behind closed doors. The two delegations, on the Croatian side represented by Ministers Granic and Susak, on the federation side represented by Prime Minister Silajdzic and Minister Prlic, talked about the implementation of the Zagreb Agreement and support for Croatia's demands for the reintegration of the UNPA's [UN Protected Area].

Croatia also sought support from France. The Croatian president had talks with Foreign Minister Juppe. They examined the situation in the region; the president explained Croatia's demands to the disunited Contact Group and the divided UN Security Council. Minister Juppe gave an exclusive statement for Croatian TV:

[Juppe, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croat translation] "The UNPROFOR mandate will be extended, because we think that withdrawal of UNPROFOR will have very serious consequences for Croatia; therefore, we are ready to examine conditions for its renewal."

[Curic in English with Serbo-Croat superimposed translation] "Do you understand Croatia's position? What was your reaction to President Tudjman's address?"

[Juppe] "We have a great understanding for the Croatian Government's policy. We are ready to examine conditions for the renewal of the mandate so that UNPROFOR should have the means to implement it."

[Curic] Mate Granic, Croatian deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, had talks today with Foreign Ministers McKinnon of New Zealand, Barroso of Portugal, and Daskalov of Bulgaria. During the talks they discussed the problem of UN Protected Areas, support for Croatia's stands, further development of the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia's role in it, bilateral relations, admission of Croatia into the PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] program, its admission to the Council of Europe, whose chairman in the ministers' committee is Bulgarian Minister Daskalov.

[Granic] "The main political talks were held during President Tudjman's visit to New York. A strategic alliance with the United States has been established, and all political obstacles between the European Union and the Republic of Croatia have been removed.

"Our visit and all our talks will be aimed at obtaining a quality resolution of the Security Council; on one side for the improvement of bilateral relations, and on the other, to speed up all European processes of integration. What is important to stress is that we expect the Contact Group to put forward a plan for the reintegration of our occupied areas; for that we had firm guarantees from the United States on the one side, and the European Union on the other." [passage omitted]

Serbs Release Journalists Accused of Spying

AU2909183794 Paris AFP in English 1808 GMT 29 Sep 94

[Text] Zagreb, Sept 29 (AFP)—Two journalists—a Briton and a Croat—have been released after being held captive for almost a month by Croatian Serbs, a UN spokesman said here Thursday.

British reporter Stephen Gaunt and Croatian Antonija Rajkovic had been held at Beli Manastir, near the border with Serbia, accused of spying.

The two were detained in eastern Croatia by forces of the self-styled Serb republic of Krajina when they crossed into the Serb part of the buffer zone created by the United Nations along a ceasefire line drawn up on March 29. They were released Wednesday.

The UN Protection Force had several times called for the reporters to be released in negotiations with the Serbs, UN spokesman Paul Risley told a press conference.

He said both Gaunt and Rajkovic were "in good health and they have been well treated during their detention. The charges against them had been dropped but the Serb authorities banned them from the territory for two years."

Risley added that they had not come to trial.

Tudjman Praises Role of Police Force

LD2909170994 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 29 Sep 94

[Passages contained with quotation marks are recorded]

[Excerpt] Shortly after his return to Zagreb, President Tudjman attended the main ceremony marking 29 September, the day of the Croatian police and their patron saint, St. Michael, at the police academy in Zagreb. Sandra Budim-Pavic reporting.

[Budim-Pavic] Welcoming Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and the state officials accompanying him, Internal Affairs Minister Ivan Jarnjak recalled the participation of Croatian policemen in the homeland war, saying that the Croatian police had turned into a modern force with a reputation in the world. Franjo Tudjman congratulated the police force on its day and expressed gratitude for everything they have done in building the independent and sovereign Croatian state and in the course of the homeland war.

[Tudjman] "We paid for this with sacrifices, with human casualties in the course of defending the homeland and in terms of material costs. Nevertheless, this has helped Croatia join the world's free countries. Had it not been for the political maturity of the Croatian people, as I said last night at the UN, and for its determination to even suffer, had we not created such police forces within the framework of the Armed Forces as a whole, we would

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not have secured a free, independent, and sovereign state of Croatia. Well, not only do we have a Croatian state, but it is recognized and respected.

"The new Croatian state is a factor to be reckoned with by the world's main powers in building a new order on the soil of the former Yugoslavia, in this part of south-east Europe, and the neighboring Balkans. We can be proud of all these things we have achieved."

[Budim-Pavic] President Tudjman recalled the thorny path to the creation of the Croatian state and added:

[Tudjman] "Gentlemen, the Croatian banner now flies not only outside the UN headquarters....[pauses] At a formal lunch party in honor of the heads of state, our Croatian banner was in the middle, next to the UN banner [applause]. This is the historic miracle we have created—the entire Croatian people to whom you have given part of yourselves [as heard]."

[Budim-Pavic] In particular, President Tudjman stressed the great success of the Croatian police in safeguarding the visit of the holy father to Croatia.

[Tudjman] "The world was surprised at and impressed once again by the kind of things Croatia is capable of, by the political and moral strength it displays, by the kind of order; the million-strong throng in Croatia's capital demonstrated the conscience of the Croatian people, as well as the organization of the Croatian state. In this you demonstrated your skill in keeping public order, in organizing the traffic; in this context you were really a showcase for today's democratic state and its legal order that relies on you in your capacity as one of its main supports." [end recording] [passage omitted]

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Election Commission President Interviewed

AU2909155794 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 17 Sep 94 p 15

[Interview with Petar Najdanov, president of the State Election Commission, by Katica Cangova; place and date not given: "Application of Law—A Priority"]

[Text] The Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] verified its State Election Commission at its last session, after which the chairman announced elections for 16 October this year. The task of this state body is to make preparations for presidential and parliamentary elections. The president of the State Election Commission is Petar Najdanov, a judge on the Supreme Court of Macedonia.

[Cangova] The State Commission has started work just after the announcement of the day of the elections. This week it held its first session and it announced that it would be permanently sitting. Being its president, what is your opinion about your new appointment for the implementation of the elections?

[Najdanov] I am looking at it with great seriousness because the post I have been appointed to holds great responsibility and duties. I hope that I shall fulfill my task in the framework of possibilities I am granted in the implementation of the task.

[Cangova] What part of the preparations has already been finished, and what is ahead of the commission in the period to come?

[Najdanov] The State Election Commission has already held three sessions at which, among other things, it determined the applications that will permit a just nominating procedure, which will be completed on 25 September, at 2400. We have also organized regional counselling with the election commissions aimed at getting a real picture of the situation in the field, in order to establish contacts and see the problems and difficulties faced by the commissions in the constituencies, and trying to help in solving some of them. These communications with the constituencies will be permanent and the State Election Commission will cooperate with them because the election commissions are those that must directly organize the elections in their own constituencies.

[Cangova] At the first session of the State Election Commission one of its members emphasized that this is a party body. Would you like to comment?

[Najdanov] This is the State Election Commission of the Republic of Macedonia, and although some of its members are party affiliates, one must behave in such a way that does not influence the work of the Commission. We are performing a duty that has been defined by a law, we are implementing the law, and it is our duty to respect the law regardless of our party affiliation. The discussions that took place in the State Election Commission were not in the spirit of the work of the Commission and I do not think they will represent a real problem.

[Cangova] What are the financial means at the disposal of the Commission and how will it distribute them to the constituencies?

[Najdanov] I still do not know about the budget for the elections because we have not yet received such information from the government. However, the money that will be given for the elections will be transferred to the giro account of the State Election Commission, which will then successively convey them to the constituencies, depending on the inflow of money and submitted requests by the commissions.

[Cangova] The State Election Commissions must implement the presidential and parliamentary elections on the same day. How prepared is it to do so, knowing that we have not had the experience of electing the future head of state by secret ballot?

[Najdanov] The voting will be carried out parallel for president and members of parliament, which means that there will be two ballot boxes and two lists. There are two conditions for the nomination of president of the Republic of Macedonia—a list with 30 signatures of members of parliament, which is the easier way, or another list signed by 10,000 electors. Actually, each one of those 10,000 electors must go personally to the authorized body of the commune and sign the list. After the list has been completed, it has to be verified by an authorized body and then the nominee can make use of it. Moreover, the candidate for president of the country must also fulfill other conditions defined by the Constitution—he must be a citizen of the Republic of Macedonia, be 40 years of age on the day of the elections, and have lived in the country for 10 consecutive years of the previous 15.

[Cangova] Where will the candidacies for president and the ones for members of parliament be submitted?

[Najdanov] The candidacies for president are submitted to the State Election Commission only. The Commission will then evaluate if the candidate fulfills all the necessary conditions. If he does, his candidacy will be confirmed. Those who do not fulfill the conditions will have the right to submit a complaint to the Supreme Court of Macedonia. The terms for complaints are short, that is, complaints will be accepted only within 48 hours. The list of the candidates for members of parliament are to be submitted to the constituencies. Each candidate must be over 18 years of age and a citizen of the Republic of Macedonia.

[Cangova] What about the voter lists? What is a citizen that is not on the list supposed to do?

[Najdanov] The voter lists must be presented in the communes. We know that in some communes such lists

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already exist. It is the duty of each citizen to check whether he is on the list or not. If he is not, he must go to the body that is authorized for the lists, he must present his identity papers in order to correct the mistake.

[Cangova] In that context, is it true that only citizens of the Republic of Macedonia have the right to vote, and do those who will be 18 two or three days after election day have that right or not?

[Najdanov] Although the Law states that only those citizens that are 18 years old can vote and that voters need not necessarily be citizens of Macedonia, the Constitution defines that only the citizens of the country have this right. Article 4 of the Constitution says that the citizens of the Republic of Macedonia have citizenship, which implies that in order to be citizens of the state they must have citizenship. This explains the right to vote and whereas the election law is four years old, the Constitution was adopted a year later. Citizens that turn 18 two to three days after the election cannot vote. They must be 18 on election day, there must be a limit here. It has to do with just a small percentage of the total voting body and this will not influence greatly the results of the elections.

[Cangova] What are the valid documents for voting and are the citizens obliged to present them when they vote?

[Najdanov] The State Election Commission has not adopted a position on the documents required for voting and it will have to clarify this at one of its next sessions of next week. The Commission will not adapt itself to anybody except to the Law.

[Cangova] Definitions of the old law adopted by a one-party assembly in socialist times will be used at the second elections of members of parliament. There are many ambiguities that were also met by the previous election commission that was organizing the elections of 1990. How are you going to solve the problems that will arise from this?

[Najdanov] There were some problems at the elections of four years ago. They were solved by the commission responsible for the first elections. We as a new Commission will view each problem separately. We shall be solving the technical problems in due course. All the Commission members will be responsible only for those questions that relate to the application of the law.

[Cangova] What view does this state body take about irregularities and what will be considered of importance for the regularity of the elections? For instance, what will your attitude be regarding an extra number of voters' lists, something that occurred at the previous elections, and because of which in some areas the elections were annulled?

[Najdanov] The election departments will receive the necessary material for elections, among which will be the lists of the voters. From these lists they will know the exact number of voters per constituency. In addition, there will be other lists of voters, which each commission is responsible for. Before handing in the election documents, each commission will have to give an explanation of those additional lists. Such lists will be used by voters that have not been registered due to some mistake. However, strict control will be applied in all such cases to avoid any suspicion.

[Cangova] When do you expect the finalization of the election procedure, since the scheduled term for the first round of the elections is known?

[Najdanov] It is impossible to forecast it in advance. I would be very glad if the election activities could start and end with the first election round. The most important thing for us is not to have any problems.

[Cangova] What should the citizens participating in the elections know, in your opinion, and what would you like to recommend to them?

[Najdanov] The citizens will be informed of the day and the hours of the elections by an invitation that they will receive a few days before 16 October this year. The invitation will specify the number of the constituency where the voter is supposed to present himself. I would recommend to the citizens just one thing—that it is every citizen's right to fulfill his duty and participate in the elections.

Poll Indicates Gligorov Leads Among Voters

AU2909162794 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 23 Sep 94 p 1

[Report on DATA PRESS Agency opinion poll on the forthcoming elections: "Citizens Will Be Voting in Great Numbers"]

[Text] In a poll conducted by the DATA PRESS Agency of the Nova Makedonija Publishing House entitled "Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] Elections '94" and surveying citizens' attitudes on the elections, the results showed that 90.67 percent of respondents are intending to vote in the October elections.

Out of the 600 citizens surveyed by anonymous telephone calls, 35.67 percent have not yet decided for which party they will vote. Of those who have decided, 28 percent will vote for the Alliance for Macedonia, 10.3 percent for the Party for Democratic Prosperity [PDP], 9.67 percent for the Democratic Party [DP], 5.67 percent for the VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Movement for Macedonian National Unity], 1.33 percent for the VMRO-DP [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party], and 7 percent for other parties.

Asked about the reasons for voting for a specific party, 36 percent replied that they will vote for the party that is offering the best program.

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Asked what will be decisive for the election of the president, 42.67 percent answered that they will vote for the candidate who they think has made the greatest achievements and 21.67 percent replied that they will decide on the best economic program.

DATA PRESS also surveyed the ratings of the present politicians. More than half, 54.33 percent, support current President Kiro Gligorov. Among the other politicians, who are lagging far behind the president, there are Petar Gosev with 4.33 percent, Ljupco Georgievski with 2.67 percent, Stojan Andov with 1.33 percent, Branko Crvenkovski and Esref Aliu with 1 percent each, Ljubomir Frckovski with 0.67 percent, and 6.33 percent for other politicians, while 28.33 percent did not have any specific opinion.

[Box, p 1]

The Rating of the Parties In Various Communes

The Alliance for Macedonia received the highest support in Bitola with 43.59 percent, then 37.50 percent in Kavadarci, and 25 percent in Skopje. The VMRO-DPMNE got the highest support in Kavadarci with 25 percent, but got only 3.66 percent in Skopje. The PDP has the highest rating in Gostivar with 47.62 percent, then 14.29 percent in Tetovo, and 10.98 percent in Skopje. The DP will probably get its greatest share of the vote in Berovo (33.33 percent), and its lowest in Tetovo (4.76 percent), with 10.98 percent in Skopje. The VMRO-DP [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party) has supporters in Stip (11.11 percent) but only 1.83 percent in Skopje.

[Box, p 1]

Structure of the Respondents

600 people were surveyed in the anonymous telephone calls in nine towns in Macedonia: Skopje, Tetovo, Titov Veles, Bitola, Gostivar, Stip, Kavadarci, Strumica, and Berovo. We should take into consideration that only 60 percent of the population have telephones at home, so that some of the electorate were automatically left out of this poll.

We chose approximately the same proportion of males and females, that is, 50.33 percent male and 49.67 percent female. Most of the respondents were between 39 and 58 years of age (37 percent) and most had graduated from high school. There were 76.33 percent Macedonians, 16.33 Albanians, 1 percent Turks, 2 percent Romanies, 0.67 percent Vlachs, and 2.33 percent other nationalities. There were 77.67 percent Orthodox, 17.67 percent Muslim, 0.33 percent Catholic, 3 percent atheists, and 1.33 percent other religions.

There were 91 percent not affiliated to any political party, while 0.67 percent said that they were members of the VMRO-DPMNE, 1.33 percent the SDSM [Social Democratic Alliance of Macedonia], 0.33 percent the LP [Liberal Party], 4.67 percent the PDP-NDP [People's Democratic Party], 1 percent the DP, and 1 percent other parties.

Gligorov Praises Alliance for Macedonia

AU2809121594 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 18 Sep 94 p 4

[Address by President Kiro Gligorov to the Alliance for Macedonia; place and date not given: "Democracy Has No Alternative for Us"—first paragraph is NOVA MAKEDONIJA introduction]

[Text] In his address to the participants of the rally of the Alliance for Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, FYROM] President Kiro Gligorov greeted them and expressed his support for the creation of the Alliance:

This is a great event and a decision that was expected by the Macedonian democratic public. This act is an expression of the widespread political belief that the sole possibility for the forces for independence, peace, and democracy lies in their being together. I believe in the abilities and potential of the Alliance. It is made up of parties that have accepted authority at a stage when all the others refused it because they were frightened by what was going on, that is, the war and the uncertainty in the Balkans. These parties have demonstrated an ability to accept historic responsibility, to defend their own country, approaching the problems with courage and indispensable realism and confidence.

That is how we safeguarded peace and security in the country, that is how we found our place in the international family of nations. That is the reason Macedonia is now used as an example of how one should act in a European manner in the Balkans. That is why we are surely and positively treading the roads of the market economy, facing the inevitable problems and whirlpools on our way. That is why Macedonian democracy relies on its Constitution, which contains all European regulations. The foundations of a real state have been created and a common language has been found for interethnic understanding. That is why we enjoy the respect and support of the broad international community.

I firmly believe that this Alliance was something that was expected and that it will have the support of the citizens of our country. Why?

The parties that are members of the Alliance keep on a peaceful and legitimate road to independence. The dream of 1903 [Illinden resurrection and first Macedonian Republic] and the continuity of the ASNOM [Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Macedonia] have finally become a reality. We now have our own state, the Republic of Macedonia, which is independent and sovereign, and we achieved it without spreading blood and violence!

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These are the democratic and patriotic forces that have created a place for Macedonia in the United Nations, by spreading the power of the truth about Macedonia, with arguments of the inalienable rights of the Macedonian people and with a respect for the principles of the international community. There are no more risks of isolating our country, there are no more risks of repeating the same mistakes from the past that divided us, and this is the first time that we have created our own independent state.

These are the aspects that promote our internal stability. We are confidently following the road of the Macedonian people's national aims which were founded on the best traditions for an understanding between the Macedonian people and the nationalities such as the Albanians, the Turks, the Vlachs, the Romanies, the Serbs. There are no doubts that national hatred, chauvinism, and religious intolerance mean destruction for Macedonia!

The members of the Alliance are the promoters of market reforms. Aware of the fact that the problems of transition are difficult and painful, they started a historic process of changing ownership structure, of creating a market system, of facing the most difficult social problems: liquidations, unemployment, pensions. However, they also created a real perspective for the reforms with international support for this process. They are not offering false promises for overnight changes, they are not offering a demagogy, and they are not using reforms with strategic aims.

These are the subjects that have not allowed an economic disaster in the country, in spite of the fierce consequences of the war in the region, of the sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and the Greek embargo. They beat inflation and secured a healthy currency and a stable denar.

Forces of Reason, Moderation, and Security

We have started building big entities. Even under the current conditions we are expecting the finalization of the gas line at the beginning of next year, there are two big hydroelectric plants under construction and huge dams, and next month the construction of a railway to Bulgaria is going to start. Next year we are expecting the construction of a number of new entities that have been arranged with the world's financial institutions and with the assistance of some friendly countries. We will then be able to promote employment and a new economic rising cycle. In other words, the stability of prices and currency opens perspectives for future development.

These are the forces of reason, of moderation, and security. They want to pay back the debt to past generations, to keep the continuity of the Krusevo Republic [1903 First Macedonian Republic], and the ASNOM. They are struggling for a sound course for independent Macedonia in the Balkans and they are in favor of a European image of our country that will be an investment for future generations. Let us not ignore our past. Let us pay full respect to all the heroes and players who gave their lives for the independence of the Macedonian state and Macedonian national identity. Let us not play with new divisions of the living Macedonian tissue. Let us not accede to the attempts of some who want to change our national identity or name!

Macedonia has accomplished true cultural progress in this period. The accomplishments in literature and education, in film production and painting, in theater and protection of cultural wealth, give us the legitimacy of a talented and modern European nation, of a country with deep importance for civilization. With the creation of the independent Macedonian state, Macedonian culture obtained new and broad possibilities for a full international support. That is why we must involve permanent concern for those who are talented and able.

The Time for Euphoria Has Passed

I accept my candidacy for president of the Republic of Macedonia.

Let us proceed with what we have started together. There is a lot of work ahead of us if we want to create conditions for strong economic and cultural progress: market reforms, democratic development, and international affirmation of our country.

The market reforms are our first and most important task. We will initiate changes with greater assurance because it has been confirmed that the foundations and the program of reforms that we have started are yielding results. We have also achieved results in changing the ownership structure and in the construction of a market system. Let us give full support to private initiative and to those who achieve success. Let us also support fast reforms of the monetary, banking, and tax system, as well as measures for economic stability.

It is our duty to provide for our citizens a secure, healthy, and stable economy and perspectives, paying the lowest price for the inevitable consequences of the reforms. This is how we see the solution of the problem of unemployment, the pensioners, the workers facing redundancy, and the role of the state and its social function.

The greatest threat to our future is the possibility of stopping reforms. Moreover, the easy game of producing social unrest by using the dissatisfaction of the socially imperiled categories of the population must not be played. This is the easiest way to mislead the people, to endanger what has already been achieved, as well as to stop progress and imperil the future. This is also the fastest way back to an economic collapse and a political dead end. That is why we selected the road to reforms, to a construction of new economic and social structures, and not demagogy, empty and false slogans, and irresponsibility toward the people and the state.

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The democratic development of the Republic of Macedonia will be continued on the foundations and achievements that have already been created with the Constitution, the laws, and the democratic practice. This means that we want to have a real state with a clear-cut division of the administrative, executive, and judiciary power. This means: Rights to the nationalities by international standards and in the spirit of our historic experience.

We have no other alternative but democracy. Particularly not if it relies on a national hatred, or any other totalitarian or faulty democratic concept. Moreover, it cannot rely on militant ideas and violence. This is why we are opting for the road of democracy that has yielded results and safeguarded the peace of the citizens and their sense of security in their own state.

International support of the Republic of Macedonia will be continued on the principles that have achieved our international recognition, our membership in the United Nations, and thus we have become, according to general world opinion, the key factor of peace and stability in the southern Balkans. It yields us lasting friends and respect in Europe, in the United States, and in the world. The example of Macedonia is an example of the future order in the Balkans, of relations among the Balkan peoples, as well as of the European future in the Balkans.

The territorial integrity and security of the republic is our top interest, but it is also in the interest of the international community that has been confirmed by the presence of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] on our border, as well as by the participation of U.S. soldiers within its framework. Our permanent resolve is toward European integration and Europeanization of the Balkans. Our long-term aim is to be associated with the European Union and NATO.

Our relations with all our neighbors, without exception, are founded on good-neighborliness and cooperation. We are strongly against any new divisions or groupings in the Balkans. The documents of the United Nations and the CSCE are the only framework within which we can procure the Macedonian national minority in the neighboring countries their right to existence and affirmation. This is also the framework for the rights of all other nationalities, without exception, of the mixed Balkan states. The strategic goal of our people is to be all together in the Balkans without borders, in Europe without borders.

We shall continue to solve the current dispute with neighboring Greece, which has had no real reason to cause enormous damage to us, through dialogue and negotiations. However, we are determined not to give up our own national identity and name.

I appeal to you and I also advise you to start the election campaign without euphoria and false promises, and let us not incite passions and national hatred. These methods have caused a war and enormous casualties. The numerous meetings in the south and the north have contaminated the atmosphere in the Balkans and have made the people crazy. Even those in the Balkans that are not guilty are affected by the consequences of all this.

The time of euphoria and false national promises has gone. All those who are using these methods, all those who are insulting man's dignity, spitting and threatening, underestimate our people. Even at the most difficult moments our people were not submitted to such passions and plans, and that is why today they have their own state and live in peace. It is not difficult to achieve it today, because the war in the north is coming to an end and the Greek embargo has collapsed. These people are the inheritor of multiple civilizations. They know what dignity and fair and democratic struggle is. Let us behave in such a manner as to be able to look into everyone's eyes tomorrow. The passion of the election struggle must not disturb the mind, honor, or dignity.

Our leading election principles should be to favor fair and democratic elections and respect for every individual. These elections will be a real test for our common platform. The citizens will vote. I believe that they will make their best choice.

This Alliance has been created out of our belief that we will do our best for Macedonia together. We will do our best to finalize what we have already achieved, that is peace and stability, market reforms, new economic development, cultural progress, social security, democracy and interethnic peace, Macedonia's firm international position, and friendships throughout the world.

SDSM Official Explains Support for Gligorov

AU2909155994 Skopje VECER in Macedonian 22 Sep 92 p 4

[Question-and-answer session held by SDSM official Tito Petkovski with VECER readers; place and date not given: "We Shall Open an Investment Front"]

[Text]

"Securely"—For Whom?

[Ilinka Mitrevska from Skopje] How can I vote for your candidacy, for President Kiro Gligorov, since my two children are unemployed and I get 5,000 denars per month?

[Petkovski] You must vote for the candidate whom you trust the most. President Gligorov has been confirmed as one who has been continuously working for the benefit of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM]. I can tell you that Gligorov's basic aim in the coming period will be to address economic and social issues. If the war stops and the blockades to the north and the south are lifted, we shall see new investment and chances for greater employment. There will not be a single person in Macedonia socially endangered.

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[Marjan Perov from Skopje] Does the slogan "securely" mean a secure maintenance of the status quo or a secure turn toward a market economy and a final association with the world?

[Petkovski] The slogan "securely" means a secure future for Macedonia. In the economic sense, it means that a market economy and transformation of capital will continue securely; on the international plane, it means a secure step toward international institutions and associations; on the social plane it means security for every citizen of Macedonia built on the foundations of a social policy that will guarantee human dignity. Of course, it also means secure new investment and greater chances for employment for young people.

[Stojana Lazarova from Skopje] Looking from the perspective of time, do you think that the second part of the referendum questionnaire was a mistake? What is your opinion on the alliance of the leftists? I think that it is a coalition of Serbs and Serb-lovers. And, third, at the Alliance for Macedonia convention it was said that this alliance is overcoming the centuries of division of the Macedonian people—do the three parties think that they are the only representatives of the Macedonian people?

[Petkovski] As far as the second part of the question of the referendum is concerned, at that time Macedonia had existed for 50 years in a community with the other Yugoslav nations. We had to decide on an independent state, but with the opportunity to maintain links in economic and political fields. Actually, that is exactly what Europe is doing now. That is why I do not regard it a mistake, and I also think that it will not be a mistake if we form an alliance with another state. As for the second question, it actually is an alliance for Yugoslavia. These parties are defending such an orientation and as long as they are doing so in public we cannot forbid them to do so. If they persuade the citizens, they will win their confidence. I think that Branko Crvenkovski [prime minister] is correct when he says that the Alliance for Macedonia will help to overcome the centuries-long divisions of the Macedonian people within the interests of the state. However, we have never said that the Alliance for Macedonia is the only one struggling for Macedonian interests and that only its members are real Macedonians.

One, the Best....

[Nadica Mihajlovska from Skopje] At Gligorov's promotion you said that you have only one candidate for state president. Does this mean that your party does not have any other candidates? What would have happened if Gligorov had not accepted the candidacy?

[Petkovski] The Alliance for Macedonia would not have run in the elections if it had had only one candidate for state president. In this case Gligorov is the best candidate.

[Natasa Georgievska from Skopje] What is your opinion of those parties that do not have a presidential candidate?

[Petkovski] A party that wants to take office in Macedonia cannot be serious if it does not have a candidate for president of the republic. In such a case it means that it does not have potentials for the highest state office. I think that such parties should be worried.

[Unidentified student from Skopje] In his book "The Political Future of Macedonia," Mr. Ljubisa Georgievski [VMRO-DPMNE presidential candidate] writes that he does not want to be the savior of Macedonia. Nevertheless, he has recently come out in public as a savior. What is your comment?

[Petkovski] All I can say is: May God save the Macedonian people from such saviors!

[Ruzica Stefanovska from Skopje] We have read in the newspapers that the SDA [Social Democratic Alliance] has requested its members of parliament Nake Stojanovski and Nikola Popovski to give back the apartments that were given to them as a present. What will happen if they do not give them back—will they still be candidates for members of parliament? Ivan Petrov asked the same question about Nikola Popovski.

[Petkovski] It is not at all true that the SDSM [Social Democratic Alliance of Macedonia] has requested Popovski and Stojanovski to give back the apartments as a precondition for putting them on the list of candidates. We think that it is up to them to decide whether it is all right for them to run as candidates bearing in mind what the public opinion and pressure is. They have to be sure that they have support in their constituencies. The way things stand now, they both have strong support in their constituencies and they will both be candidates for members of parliament."

[Petar Stojanov] Why is Tuse Gosev to be a candidate since we know that he made many mistakes as a minister?

[Petkovski] We in the SDSM have defined the rules and criteria for choosing candidates. The communal organizations hold conventions and, after a secret ballot, the ones that get the most votes are chosen. Mr. Tuse Gosev got the most votes and that is why he was elected a candidate in Strumica."

What About Pensions?

[Unidentified person from Kocani] Will you keep current Minister for Agriculture Eftim Ancev if you come to power, knowing that he is responsible for the destruction of agriculture in the Republic of Macedonia. All he did was to gain personal profit, for himself and for his son, who represents an Israeli company.

[Petkovski] You probably know that we are entering the election in coalition with the LP [Liberal Party] and the SP [Socialist Party] and that the results of the election will determine who is given the mandate and what the composition of the government will be. At this stage I am not able to tell you whether Minister Ancev will be a

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candidate for the same position. But I thank you for commenting on the work of this minister of ours.

[Trajanka Mihajlovska] When does the government intend to pay out pensions?

[Petkovski] The prime minister promised that all the pensioners would get 12 pensions for 12 months. As far as unpaid pensions are concerned, great efforts are being made to pay them by the end of the year and I think that this will be successfully done.

[Mirjana Petrova from Skopje] If you come to power, will you immediately implement the Law on Denationalization?

[Petkovski] This law has been going through the assembly procedures for three months and I think that the new parliament will pass it at one of its first sessions. It is a question of priority for us, because a political party in Macedonia cannot take office without taking into account this law, which complements the Law on Privatization.

[Todor Ciprov from Skopje] What can the SDSM, if it wins the elections, promise a young man of 25, who is unemployed and wishes to have a family and live as a normal person?

[Petkovski] We can promise him that we will continue with the reforms and that we will open up an investment front with international financial assistance. That is the only possible way to create conditions for the employment of young people. A great number of investments have already been discussed—a railroad to Gevgelija, a highway, the "Kozjak" hydroelectric system, and a hydroelectric scheme on the Vardar River.

Envoy, Saudis Discuss Establishing Diplomatic Ties

AU2909174494 Skopje MILS-NEWS in English 29 Sep 94

[Text] Macedonian Ambassador to Ankara Trajan Petrovski met with the Saudi ambassador to Turkey, who confirmed his country's intention to recognize the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia], also handing over an official note on this. The decision had been brought on August 29 and Macedonia has been recognized under its constitutional name. The two ambassadors discussed practical steps in establishing diplomatic ties.

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Drnovsek, Britten Hold Talks on EU Membership

AU2909205794 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1800 GMT 29 Sep 94

[Report by Sonja Znidarsic]

[Text] Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek and Sir Leon Britten discussed behind closed doors the possibilities for Slovenia's accession to the European Union at the Bled economic forum this afternoon. After the talks, they both gave statements.

Sir Britten, vice president of the EU [European Union] Commission, expressed hope that debate about Slovenia's associate membership in the EU will take place soon and said that this issue should not be affected by bilateral problems. Once again he congratulated Slovenia for its great progress but simultaneously pointed at the still inadequate legal provisions and loops that are discouraging foreign investors. According to him, it is precisely a better investment climate that would secure Slovenia a lasting position at the top of success scale of the countries in transition.

Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek stressed that he had held very thorough talks about Slovenia and the European Union with the vice president of the EU Commission. He said that they had discussed the 4 October meeting [of EU foreign ministers] and ways to overcome a deadlock that has occurred lately. Prime Minister Drnovsek stressed that Sir Britten had displayed a very positive attitude toward Slovenia and said that Britten's experiences were very precious because he was a good negotiator within the EU. Here, Drnovsek also stressed that the talks were very useful and would help Slovenia in the future integration activities with the EU.

Britten Comments

AU2909172394 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 29 Sep 94

[Report by Igor Juric on news conference by Foreign Minister Lojze Peterle, upon his return from the 49th UN General Assembly session, at Ljubljana airport on 29 September—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Juric] Our talks with the EU representatives and the U.S. secretary of state about Slovene integration into the Union were most important. Everybody agreed that the dispute with Italy should not hinder our accession to the Union and that international agreements must be honored. All partners in the talks supported our efforts. Peterle, thus, believes that the talks with Italian Foreign Minister Martino were very important:

[Peterle] I reiterated that Slovenia cannot consent to the revision of valid agreements and favors their consistent implementation and, in this light, the quickest possible legal protection for the Slovenes in Italy, which is, as far as we are concerned, the key issue in bilateral relations. Above all this, we see scope for gestures of goodwill that would refer to the past and the expectations of people who had suffered under totalitarian regimes on both sides.

[Juric] [Passage omitted] Soon after his arrival at Brnik airport, Minister Peterle received Leon Britten, vice president of the EU Commission, who has arrived on a visit that will last several days. The Slovene foreign minister said he and Mr. Britten will discuss our further integration into the European Union, which has been successful so far as we have been receiving nothing but positive opinions about our economic and political maturity from the European Union. Mr. Britten said:

[Britten, in English with superimposed translation] I was enormously impressed by the progress made by Slovenia. In the next few days, we shall discuss the further development of relations between Slovenia and the European Union. I believe that the time is ripe to start negotiations on association membership between Slovenia and the European Union.

Official Views Meeting With Italy's Caputo

AU2909171994 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 29 Sep 94

[Report by Nadja Pengov—recorded]

[Text] [Pengov] After the meeting between Italian Foreign Ministry Undersecretary Livio Caputo and Slovene Foreign Ministry State Secretary Ignac Golob in Ljubljana today, which lasted for an hour and a half, we asked Undersecretary Caputo to comment on the talks. He replied: I will not comment. When asked why not, he replied that he had decided not to.

Ignac Golob was less tongue-tied about today's Slovene-Italian talks in Ljubljana:

[Golob] We have concluded yet another meeting with the Italian delegation led by Senator Caputo, undersecretary in the Italian Foreign Ministry. The meeting was relatively brief because it was devoted solely to our counterproposal of a draft joint declaration of the two governments, that is, the two prime ministers, that will be issued on the occasion of their meeting.

The Italian side had very little to say about our text. They promised to report to the Italian Government about it and then give an answer. My impression is that the Italian and the Slovene drafts are as far apart as are the positions of Rome and Ljubljana regarding the problem of the Slovene minority in Italy and the Italian minority in Slovenia, as far apart as are the views on the property and legal issues, and, partially also on the citizenship issue. Here I am referring to the new Italian citizenship law and the recent extension of the deadline for applications for Italian citizenship.

[Pengov] State Secretary Golob also said that the Italian delegation had brought two answers to Ljubljana. The first was the official note containing an opinion about

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their law on dual citizenship, which is totally different to ours, and the second a memorandum about the manner of settling our country's obligations from the 1983 Rome Treaty. Slovenia is now awaiting the reply from Rome.

Bosnian Economic Chamber Chairman Visits

AU2809211594 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 28 Sep 94

[Report by Fadil Smajic from Ljubljana]

[Excerpt] Mensud Smajlovic, chairman of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Economic Chamber, has had numerous useful meetings and agreements in the Slovene Economic Chamber over the past two days. He and his hosts devoted the most time to the creation of bases for as intensive as possible economic cooperation between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Slovenia.

Above all, he was interested in the Slovene economic legislation and possibility of expert assistance in this sphere. He also proposed the formation of a mixed, Slovene-Bosnian economic chamber and founding of an association of Bosnia-Herzegovina businessmen in Slovenia, bearing in mind that a great number of experts and experienced businessmen from our country is currently living and working in Slovenia.

The main aim of this association would be to help reanimate the economic cooperation between the two countries. As a part of his visit to Slovenia, Mensud Smajlovic, chairman of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Economic Chamber, will participate in the work of a regional business conference in Bled, which will last from 29 September to 2 October. [passage omitted]

Government Contacts With Arms Dealer Examined

AU2909213294

[Editorial Report] Ljubljana MLADINA in Slovene in its 20 September edition on pages 18 to 21 carries an article by Miha Stamcar and Jani Sever about Nicholas Oman, whom they dub "the biggest Slovene arms' merchant" and confessions of Oman's former assistant Jernej Cepin.

According to a short biography, Oman was born in Podkoren near Kranjska Gora on 28 October in 1943. He is a Slovene as well as an Australian citizen, who after serving a prison sentence for robbery in 1963 immigrated to Australia where "he was involved in shady dealings" including involvement in robberies, violence, and the possession of fire arms and drugs. The authors of the article admit that his return to Slovenia in the late 1980's "is veiled in mystery." According to Oman's former associate Jernej Cepin, Oman has been in touch with the Slovene authorities, "which he often met in a state residence in Brdo near Kranj" from the very beginning, while his assistant Cepin at that time occupied an apartment in a police station building in Ljubljana. It is reported that, after the proclamation of Slovenia's independence in June 1991, Oman disappeared to Italy briefly, only to return after the war and start contacting "the representatives of the Defense Ministry." To illustrate the nature of these contacts, the weekly carries an itemized bill that shows that Oman's company Orbal Marketing Services, registered in Melbourne, Australia, supplied $7.6638 million worth of arms and ammunition to the Slovene Defense Ministry in April 1992.

The article also carries a facsimile of a letter confirming that the Defense Ministry paid 136.475 million Slovene tolars, or approximately 10 million German marks, into Oman's bank account.

The article speculates about Oman's connections with Vladimir Zhirinovskiy (Russian Liberal Democratic Party leader) and Alexey Vedenikin. The authors recall that Oman hosted Zhirinovskiy's visit to Slovenia in February 1994, which was allegedly connected to Slovenia's outstanding $9 million debt for 850,000 gas masks purchased from Russia. Oman is supposedly also chiefly responsible for bringing Vedenikin, "a former KGB man, who had been in charge of the transfer of money from the Soviet Union prior to 1990," to Slovenia. The authors note that Oman has acquired a castle as well as two town houses in the country and has been appointed Liberia's honorary consul to Slovenia. They quote Russian sources that maintain that Oman is "worth an astronomic $16 billion."

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Federal

Russian Officials Call For Lifting Sanctions

LD2909190894 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1835 GMT 29 Sep 94

[Text] Belgrade, Sep 29 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav minister and Russian ambassador agreed that the United Nations Resolution 943 suspending selected sanctions against Yugoslavia should be quickly and comprehensively implemented.

An official statement released Thursday after the meeting of Traffic and Communications Minister Zoran Vujovic and Russian Ambassador Gennadiy Shikin said also Vujovic informed Shikin about the need to launch proceedings for a total lifting of the sanctions as soon as possible.

He said this would be a major contribution to the restoration of lasting peace in the former Yugoslavia and the Balkans.

The U.N. Security Council adopted the resolution suspending sanctions against Yugoslavia in the areas of international traffic, culture and sports on September 23.

The resolution would take effect 24 hours after U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali signed the report based on civilian mission head Bo Pellnas that nothing but humanitarian transports crossed Yugoslavia's border with the Bosnian Serbs.

Resolution 943 was passed after the Yugoslav Government on August 4 severed all political and economic relations with the Bosnian Serb Republic and closed the common border to all transports other than humanitarian.

The move was made after the Bosnian Serb National Assembly decided to refer the 'Contact Group' plan for the territorial division of Bosnia-Herzegovina to the August 27-28 referendum.

The statement said Vujovic and Shikin discussed renewal of regular flights between Belgrade and Moscow. The first plane was to take off from Belgrade Airport for Moscow once the sanctions were suspended. Intensive preparations for the flight were currently underway.

Vujovic and Shikin agreed that the flight had a symbolic political meaning in that it confirmed traditional friendship between the Yugoslav and Russian peoples.

UN Envoy Denies 'Territorial Aspirations'

LD3009005594 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2337 GMT 29 Sep 94

[Text] New York, Sept. 29 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav ambassador to the United Nations Dragomir Djokic said Thursday Yugoslavia had no territorial aspirations towards any country.

In a letter to UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali, Djokic refuted accusations by Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic that Yugoslavia is the source of instability in the Balkans.

Djokic's letter. which is an answer to Granic's letter of September 16, says that Yugoslavia does not plan to 'annex' the Serb republic, the Serb state in Bosnia, or the UN protected areas.

Djokic said that Butrus-Ghali himself had in his latest report to the Security Council said that Yugoslavia has no troops outside its borders. On the other hand, Croatia's troops are actively engaged in the War in Bosnia and it has practically annexed western Herzegovina, Djokic said.

The regular army of Croatia has been engaged on the Bosnian Croat side since the very beginning of the war in Bosnia. Already in 1992, Bosnian Croats formed their own state of Herceg-Bosna and conducted ethnic cleansing operations against Serbs and Muslims.

Croats and Muslims formed a binational federation in Bosnia-Herzegovina in March this year after a year of fierce fighting, but their armed clashes continue nevertheless.

Claims about military cooperation between Yugoslavia and the Serb republic and the republic of Serb Krajina are completely unfounded and unproved, Djokic said.

Djokic said it was understandable that Croatia should be concerned about its refugees from the UN protected areas, 'which Croatia completely unjustly calls occupied territories.'

On the other hand, Croatia refuses to accept thousands of Muslim refugees from the Cazinska Krajina region, the Yugoslav ambassador said. The Muslims are victims of inter-Muslim conflicts in western Bosnia who have found refuge in Serb Krajina.

The republic of Serb Krajina was formed by Serbs in 1991 in their ethnic lands in former Croatia in answer to its forcible secession from former Yugoslavia and the elimination of Serb national rights from the new Croatian Constitution.

Although Serb Krajina has been a UN protected area since the spring of 1992, Croatia attacked it on four occasions, expelling and murdering tens of thousands of civilians.

Serb Krajina and Yugoslav government figures show that 14,000 Serbs have been killed in Croatia since its secession and that more than 300,000 have been banished.

Karadzic Vows To Impose Sanctions on Muslims

AU3009102394 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Sep 94 p 4

[BETA-attributed report: "Sides in the Conflict Finally Addressed"]

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[Text] Pale—Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic believes that—by partially easing the sanctions against the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], and tightening them against the Srpska republic—the international community "has finally addressed the sides in the conflict, in a positive way for the FRY, and a negative way for the Srpska republic."

In a statement for SRNA two nights ago in Pale, Karadzic expressed satisfaction with the easing of the sanctions against the FRY—"which should not have been imposed in the first place, since the FRY has not been conducting our policies or waging our war." However, the Bosnian Serb leader also said that "it is sad that the FRY is being rewarded for imposing an embargo against the Srpska republic." He expressed regret that "the extent of the suspension of the sanctions was not greater."

As for the introduction of new sanctions against the Srpska republic, Karadzic said that this was "very good" in the sense that "no one will now demand that Belgrade fulfills all kinds of promises, so the international community now has to address us." Karadzic said that the Serbian side in Bosnia-Herzegovina "will certainly toughen its attitude toward UN representatives, and the UN Protection Force," and that it "will respond to the sanctions by imposing similar sanctions against the Muslims."

Addressing the issue of the FRY blockade of the Srpska republic, Karadzic said that "the FRY should not have severed economic and communications lines with us since the international community never asked for this," and that it was "sad" that there seemed to be "a surplus of negative energy, and a surplus of will to punish the Pale leadership" on the part of the FRY leadership.

Serbia

Radicals Cause Suspension of Assembly Session

AU3009104894 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 30 Sep 94

[Report by Dragoljub Stankic from the Serbian Assembly in Belgrade]

[Excerpts] The work of the Serbian Assembly has again been blocked by a Serbian Radical Party [SRS] deputy after just 30 minutes from the opening of the session, which has now been adjourned. [passage omitted]

Seeing that 183 deputies were present at the session, sufficient for a quorum, Chairman Dragan Tomic opened the discussion. However, SRS deputy Dragan Todorovic—as has become the common practice—demanded the floor because of a violation of protocol. He said that the assembly chairman had violated protocol, the law, and the Constitution, and then he mentioned the Serbian president. Chairman Tomic then ruled that he had no right to continue speaking.

The speeches by SRS deputies Milovan Radovanovic and Milorad Mircic were similar. They also raised objections over whether protocol was being adhered to. However, after a brief discussion, the agenda was finally addressed. Deputy Vladan Batic took the floor, and agricultural issues—that all the wheat taken from the farmers had not been paid for—were again discussed. However Radical deputy Aleksandar Vucic at one point took the floor and changed the topic. Assembly Chairman Tomic responded by ruling him out of order, but he argued that only the security service could remove him, and thus the assembly session was adjourned.

Seselj Sentenced to 30 Days in Prison

LD2909164094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1613 GMT 29 Sep 94

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Sep (TANJUG)—Serbian Radical Party Chairman Vojislav Seselj was sentenced today to 30 days in prison.

Magistrate Dobrivoje Glavonic, who conducted the proceedings at the magistrates' court, said that Seselj was sentenced for his crude offensive behavior, maltreatment, and for threatening the safety of Radoman Bozovic, the president of the Federal Assembly's Chamber of Citizens. The incident took place in the Federal Assembly on 27 September. Seselj has been sent to prison.

SRS Deputy Leader Describes Seselj's Arrest

LD2909175194 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1423 GMT 29 Sep 94

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Sep (TANJUG)—Tomislav Nikolic, vice president of the Serbian Radical Party [SRS], today said that the SRS was not surprised at today's arrest of SRS leader Seselj, and that it was agreed that Nikolic would coordinate the party while Seselj was in prison.

At a regular news conference he added that Seselj will be replaced in his capacity as chairman of the SRS Club of Deputies to the Federal Assembly's Chamber of Citizens by Maja Gojkovic. Nikolic said that yesterday's session of the Immunity and Mandae Committee, which stripped Seselj of his parliamentary immunity, had not been convened in a regular way and that this committee had violated its code of practice, according to which it was only the Chamber of Citizens that was entitled to decide on these matters while the federal parliament was in session.

The SRS vice president stressed that the Radicals would not let the Serbian Assembly discuss anything else at its session today but Seselj's arrest.

Nikolic described in detail how Seselj was intercepted this morning at a checkpoint near Batajnica. On being told that there was an arrest warrant, the SRS leader peacefully entered a Black Maria, which took him to the

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City Office of the Internal Affairs Ministry in 29 November Street, Nikolic said.

Nikolic said in the course of its activities aimed at the release of Seselj, the SRS will use democratic, parliamentary, and nonparliamentary means. He said there will be protest meetings every day in the Municipal Hall of Stari Grad. Nikolic did not rule out the possibility of organizing protest rallies.

The SRS vice president expressed understanding for those party members who "have been scared by the regime's repression," but he cautioned that as of tomorrow their fear would not be forgiven and that some members would be expelled from the party.

Seselj Accused of Accepting U.S. Bribe

AU2909151294 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Sep 94 p 18

[Unattributed report: "Americans Promised Dollars to Seselj"]

[Text] "We condemn the behavior of Vojislav Seselj and a group of his followers, and we remind the public that this was just one in the series of excesses that Vojislav Seselj has staged recently. We are, however, concerned by the inertia of the state bodies, which have not been reacting promptly and in accordance with the law to the incidents provoked by the Serbian Radical Party [SRS]," reads part of the public statement issued by the Radical Party of Serbia [RSS] and signed by its deputy chairman Slobodan Jovic. "The man who has become the biggest political and war profiteer through false patriotism has been attempting at any cost to block the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] Assembly so as to force premature elections." The statement also accuses the SRS leader of selling deputies' seats at the last elections. According to the RSS, the prices asked ranged from 10,000 to 150,000 German marks, depending on the candidate's financial resources.

"Vojislav Seselj has lost his patience, because he has since to justify the $1 million that the Americans promised him for overthrowing the current authorities, and he will not be choosy as to the means he uses, his masters from the 'Secret Masonic Lodge'—of which he too is a member—expect concrete results from him," the statement runs. The RSS also "demands that all the deputies who behave like hooligans should be immediately stripped of their immunity and proper charges brought against them."

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